THE NEW REPUBLIC

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A "Very Sound" Economy?

The Editors

June 11, 1962, 25 ce

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Not Much Time

★ Central to Kennedy's 1960 campaign and central to America's prestige and power in world affairs is the regaining of a dynamic forward thrust in the economy. This has not been achieved. Yet it is basic to everything else.

At a critical point in early summer, 1961, Kennedy weighed the arguments of the "growth school" led by Walter W. Heller, Galbraith, Tobin, Paul Samuelson and others, and the conservative counter-arguments of Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon, Reserve Board chairman William Martin and others, and deliberately chose a modest recovery formula rather than a more rapid, or "radical," one. This accorded with Kennedy's own basic economic conservatism and fitted into his political desire to placate Congress and country by a role of "fiscal responsibility." Then Kennedy spent a year devoting nine-tenths of his time to international affairs.

The stock market hysteria last week jerked the President's attention back home. What did it show? It showed a stunted economy. There is massive unused plant capacity and there is continuing massive unemployment. It is true the economy has bounced back from Eisenhower lows and it is still making "new all-time highs" (for what they are worth) but any sophisticated observer notes signs that the recovery is slowing down.

Kennedy has a quick, acquisitive mind and he shows signs now of reconsidering policies that blocked the budget from being what it should be, the principal engine of economic growth. Judging by our reading of Wall Street, if he is going to take a bolder course he may not have much time to lose.

After one of the wildest gyrations in history the stock market ended last week with prices about where they started – but with all the imponderables changed. Now the public is beginning to ask questions. Since December 13 the "Big Board" alone has lost about $56 billion in paper values. And it is still badly over-valued, in our judgment. Stock prices are still so high that they yield less than good bonds: an historic danger signal for lambs that is as ominous as the warning from a rattlesnake's tail.

We noticed a Scripps-Howard editorial last week, "Employment Sets Record," which said, "Last month's gain in jobs shames those of little faith . . . who seem to think the country is going to the dogs." This type of hortatory encouragement implies that the public knows as little about affairs as the editorial writer, surely an unfair aspersion. America's population grows three million a year, and the national labor force one million. If employment doesn't "set a record" every month or so it means that the new workers aren't being absorbed. We are climbing a "down" escalator and must run fast to stay in the same place! We are also increasing worker productivity 2.5 percent a year by automation, and this is a second factor that means unemployment, unless we climb hard.

Unrepresentative Legislatures

★ Judges in Maryland, Georgia and Tennessee are saying that "at least one" of the Houses of the legislature must reflect population accurately in reapportionment cases. This implies that the Senate doesn't have to, a development that this column forecast. To leave the veto-wielding upper chamber in a state dominated by rural interests defeats the reapportionment reform. The classic example is Michigan where continuous Democratic popular landslides have never swept away the built-in GOP Senate majority. Senate seats are allocated by counties, not population, so the Michigan cows outvote the people. For years now, the state's gerrymandered GOP Senate has vetoed a graduated income tax thereby bringing the state to near-bankruptcy. George Romney, likely GOP candidate for Governor, favors the income tax. But Romney is also vice chairman of the GOP-dominated constitutional convention which proposes to leave modified rural bias in the allocation of Senate seats. "Why should four out of 83 counties control the Senate?" asks Romney, referring to heavily populated Detroit, Flint and other city counties.

The answer is, of course, that counties are artificial entities with no more right to inflated representation than British rotten boroughs in the 1830's. There is an implied analogy here to the 50 states in the US Senate. The parallel doesn't hold. States got equal representation for historic reasons, but who has ever offered to shed his blood for dear old Keweenaw County, or gone to his tomb with the flag of Cheboygan County wrapped round his remains?

Tweedledee and Tweedledum

★ Texas liberals helped elect reactionary Republican Senator Tower last year, they got so angry at reactionary Democratic incumbent Senator Blakley. It looks as though Texas Republican conservatives had now helped liberal Democrat Don Yarborough to almost – but not quite – defeat conservative Democrat John Connally, for the governorship nomination. Connally, ex-Secretary of the Navy and protégé of Lyndon Johnson, squeaked through after repudiating the Kennedy medicare, school and spending programs. There is a healthy sign in this spite-voting, paradoxical as it seems. The public wants labels that mean something, Republicans "conservative"; Democrats "liberal." Above all they want a choice. They are tired in Texas of just being asked to choose between two conservatives. They won't get it this year in Texas but we suspect Don Yarborough isn't finished yet.

In the same week the White House pettishly cancelled 22 subscriptions to the Republican *New York Herald Tribune,* and later on curtly dismissed Jack Romagna, shorthand writer for 21 years to four Presidents. Neither incident means much outside Washington but here it means extraordinarily poor public relations with the press corps that delights Kennedy's enemies and bewilders his friends. It could hardly have happened under Jim Hagerty.

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"Very Sound" Economy?

In his classic study of *The Great Crash,* John Kenneth Galbraith concluded that: "Had the economy been fundamentally sound in 1929 the effect of the great stock market crash might have been small. . . . But business in 1929 was not sound; on the contrary it was exceedingly fragile. It was vulnerable to the kind of blow it received from Wall Street. Those who have emphasized this vulnerability are obviously on strong ground. Yet when a greenhouse succumbs to a hailstorm something more than a purely passive role is normally attributed to the storm. One must accord similar significance to the typhoon which blew out of lower Manhattan in October, 1929."

Much the same observation doubtless might be made of the storm that blew through Wall Street this May. If the economy is "very sound," as Secretary of the Treasury Dillon said last week, the ill effects of the sharp decline in stock values will be absorbed in stride. But how sound is it?

After a sluggish winter, there has been a pick-up. Housing starts rose strongly in March and April, though on close scrutiny much of the activity is in apartment building which is in itself something of a speculative venture, and the number of new families is forging ahead of the number of new homes. Retail sales are running a healthy 10 percent over 1961, accounted for mostly by cars, with Detroit currently predicting a 6.5 million year, second only to 1955. But this has its good and bad aspects. Some of the spurt in sales of 1962 cars must be attributed to the sense of well being stimulated by the 1961 bull market. Also, a good year in Detroit is usually followed by a poor year during the autumn and winter, when the economy may be least able to afford it. Finally, for whatever it is worth, car sales reached 5.5 million in 1929 and the record stood until several years after World War II. Other favorable factors are the eight percent expected increase in business investment, the rise in corporate profits during the first quarter, the slight decrease in unemployment and increases in personal income.

On the other hand, unemployment is chronic and persistent around six percent of the labor force. Far more disturbing, and perhaps fundamental, is the shrinkage of the civilian labor force during 1962 by a million or so workers, as shown by a comparison of the employment figures released each month by the Department of Labor. This reflects not only hidden unemployment but an economy seemingly unable to absorb the additional manpower resulting from population

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growth amounting to 1.5 million workers per year.

Steel production fell to 55 percent of capacity in May and is expected to drop even lower during the summer; and the return on capital invested in steel has been declining steadily, though no such decline is evident in Western Europe. The poor demand for steel is rationalized as a miscalculation in inventory building because of the threatened steel strike, but such an argument is spurious. Steel production for the entire year is not expected to exceed 65 percent of capacity. In fact, it has stuck around this figure since 1958, and the stagnation cannot be minimized by saying that steel has become less important. One hundred million tons of steel are used each year compared to 2.5 million tons of aluminum, its nearest competitor. Steel remains the most basic industrial requirement and hence cannot be ignored as an economic bellwether. And it is not only steel: All basic industries in the US are operating at less than full capacity, a phenomenon that is likely to continue unless demand is appreciably increased, which it cannot be simply by holding prices in line.

The economy is, moreover, seriously debt ridden. Private non-corporate debt of all types, including consumer credit, housing mortgages, and commercial and agricultural loans amounted to $307 billion at the end of 1961. This is a frightening 84 percent of disposable income, which has been exceeded only once before, in 1929 when it reached 87 percent. Any diminution of family income or the evaporation of speculative gains supporting this debt burden could have a drastic effect on consumer sales.

Other disquieting signs are visible: Gross private investment has declined since 1955-56, and more than half the increase in Gross National Product since 1955 has been through expenditures on services, not goods.

With this picture in mind, one may ask whether there are not more basic causes for concern than those immediately related to the stock market break itself – *i.e.*, the sense of invulnerability that new investors acquired after years of easy success, the growing gap between the earnings of some companies and the prices of their stock, the reaction of the market to the decision of commercial and savings banks to raise interest rates to four percent, the regulations that forbid banks to lend money on listed securities like General Motors while permitting them to lend 70 to 80 percent on unlisted securities such as Dunn Engineering. The deeper issue may be the one John F. Kennedy defined in 1960: "Unless the next Administration is able to stimulate and develop an atmosphere which will develop growth, provide for replacement of our present machinery in such a way as to stimulate the economy, by taxation, fiscal and monetary policy, then, of course, our hope to maintain full employment will remain only a hope."

The President's trade bill, the 7.5 percent tax credit on investment in new plant and equipment, the $600 million public works program, the promised rehabilitation of the railroads and of distressed areas are useful proposals and to the credit of the Kennedy Administration, but taken together they will not push the economy rapidly up the hill toward the $800 billion economy that is needed to provide 80 million jobs by 1970 – including jobs for the 14 million new workers who will be looking for jobs in the 60's.

As a result of the market drop, the Administration may decide that Secretary Dillon was too quick to say that no new tax-cutting proposals will be sent to Congress this year. If that decision is made, if a tax cut is forthcoming, the pertinent question is: will the cut be too little and will it come too late?

Three-Way Split

The current "crisis" over Berlin – if that is what something can be called that is three and a half years old – is still with us. The Soviet demand, first made on November 27, 1958, for the complete withdrawal of Western forces from Berlin was repeated last week by Ambassador Dobrynin. So long as that remains a Soviet condition, no new settlement is possible. Nor is one possible until Bonn and Washington resolve their own differences, which is the aim of conversations now going on between West German Ambassador Grewe and Assistant Secretary of State Foy Kohler.

It will be recalled that the idea of an international authority to supervise access routes to Berlin was first put forward by President Kennedy last November in his interview with Khrushchev's son-in-law. At the time, the West Germans agreed in principle, and in Lausanne in March, Secretary Rusk gave West German Foreign Minister Schroeder a memorandum outlining the proposal in general terms. Later that month, the Secretary outlined the idea also to Gromyko in Geneva. Then, on April 10, the US forwarded a more detailed memorandum to the West Germans, the British and the French, the contents of which were leaked to the press in Bonn on April 14. Washington reacted bitterly to what was considered a breach of confidence by the West Germans, and there matters stood until May 22, when Bonn came forward with a counter-proposal. It differs rather essentially from Secretary Rusk's.

The divergence is over the composition of an international authority that would both supervise travel (including military traffic) and arbitrate disputes. The US had suggested a 13-member body – five from the West, five from the East, and three neutrals, with both West and East Germany being full members. So as to make the authority more palatable to the Soviet Union, the US plan, by granting full membership, offered a

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limited acknowledgment of East Germany's existence.

Bonn objected: the authority would give neutrals a role as umpire which they cannot play, because (Austria for example) they are not powerful enough to resist Russian pressures; second, the plan would give the East Germans too much "respect," thus opening up the possibility that the Communists could obstruct free access. To this Washington replied that the East Germans can obstruct traffic now, for it is they who control most of the travel to and from Berlin. Bonn was assured, moreover, that nothing in the US proposal in any way weakens the will of the Western allies to respond with forces should the East Germans attempt to cut Berlin off.

Insofar as is known, Bonn's counter-proposal of May 22 endeavors to retain the structure of four-power responsibility for access; in other words, it goes back to the arrangement prevailing immediately after the end of World War II. In this sense, the counter-proposal is designed to prevent any agreement with the Soviet Union, for if the Russians had been willing and were willing to accept four-power responsibility for Berlin, there would be no crisis at all.

Under the umbrella of four-power control, Bonn would accept something similar to Washington's concept of an authority, with three or more nations from the East, West and neutral countries forming a controlling body of some sort. But, and this is a point of critical disagreement, no Germans, either from East or West, would participate in the operating or controlling authority. Bonn would thus eliminate the "concession" embodied in Washington's acceptance of the "reality" of an East German regime. The West Germans propose further that on a third level – below four-power responsibility and below some sort of international agency – East and West Germans would discuss very narrow technical functions. For instance, an East German might be allowed to sit in the air safety center in West Berlin, which is not permitted today.

The Soviet position is altogether different. In addition to the unacceptable demand for the withdrawal of Western military forces from Berlin, they say that an international authority should only have power to arbitrate, not control traffic, leaving this more important function to the East Germans themselves. Thus, as they see it, the international authority would have no real authority at all.

Whether any common ground can be found that will accommodate these conflicting viewpoints remains to be seen. There are some indications that the Soviets might be reconciled to the continuing presence of some Western forces in Berlin, but the price for this might be more explicit recognition of the East Germans, which is to say more formal recognition of the line dividing Germany.

FOOTNOTES *to the* WEEK

NGO DINH DIEM is resisting US efforts to channel economic aid in South Vietnam directly to provincial officials rather than through the Saigon bureaucracy. Some $25 million in already appropriated funds would be immediately involved. Diem fears the plan would mean further US moves to bypass his regime, while permitting him to retain nominal power. —— DON YARBOROUGH'S *strong showing (as we went to press he was within 26,074 votes out of 1.1 million of beating John Connally for the Texas Democratic Senatorial nomination) reflects a shift away from conservatism beyond what Lyndon Johnson reckoned. Had he chosen, the Vice President might have directed a victory for an all-out Kennedy supporter in his native state.* —— THE URBAN MASS TRANSIT program is likely to be accepted without major change. The President asked for $500 million in matching grants over the next three years to help cities plan and install transit systems, including subways where justified. Indications are that the most important change will be the addition of funds for loans or loan-guarantees on top of the matching-grants. —— THE ALABAMA *state AFL-CIO two years ago voted a $1-a-year assessment of its members to conduct a campaign to liberalize the state legislature. Last week's election was its first test. The result, in labor's eyes, is "a 100 percent success." Every one of the state legislative candidates on labor's sample ballot won. Ultra-conservative Rep. Frank Boykin, who lost in the low-man-out Congressional primary, owed his defeat to the strong showing labor's man, Pierre Pelham, made against him in his home district of Mobile.* —— SECRETARY McNAMARA'S hopes for reducing the military contribution to the American gold outflow are limited. His associates concede that shortening the length of foreign duty assignments and exhorting service families to spend less abroad have little impact. Their best hope lies in negotiations with Germany, France, Italy and Britain for greater purchases by them of armaments and related equipment in this country – as well as larger contributions to US troop-support costs in Europe. —— THE APPROPRIATION *bill for the State Department has been languishing in Rep. John L. Rooney's subcommittee since hearings ended in late March. Rooney has seemed reluctant to clear it until he knows whether or not he will have a primary fight this year. His Brooklyn district and that of Rep. Victor A. Anfuso are being consolidated as a result of redistricting; one of them must retire or run elsewhere. The White House has intervened and the latest word is that Anfuso may run in Staten Island. State's appropriation is expected to come out of deep freeze shortly.*

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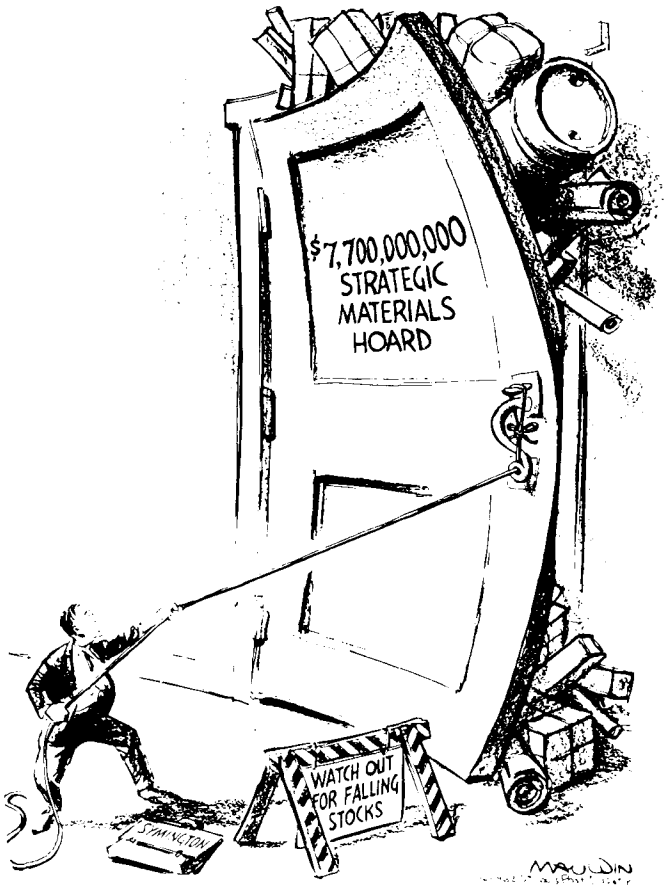
Digging Into Stockpiles

Sen. Stuart Symington's stockpile investigating committee has begun to wonder how many top officials of the Eisenhower Administration were involved in questionable decisions regarding purchases for federal stockpiling programs. The subcommittee has already heard evidence showing that three of General Eisenhower's aides collaborated in a strange, though not necessarily fraudulent, deal in 1956 for Calumet & Hecla, Inc., a copper company. The men are former Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks; Franklin Floete, then General Services Administrator; and Arthur Flemming, then director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

Calumet reaped a $5.5 million windfall profit when it was allowed to divert and delay its deliveries to the stockpile and sell on the inflated open market. It saved at least $1 million more when a profit-sharing agreement with the government was dropped. When the company finally made its deliveries to the stockpile, the government paid more than $650,000 above the original contract price.

Some of this information came from the subpoenaed files of Calumet and from memoranda left behind in government offices. Some of it was volunteered by persons still on the federal payroll. A little was drawn reluctantly from two men who represented Calumet in the long negotiations. One of them was James L. Kunen, an Office of Defense Mobilization consultant at the time, whose law firm represented Calumet in the negotiations. He was dropped as a government consultant on conflict-of-interest charges the day before the subcommittee began its public probe of Calumet.



The other was Wellwood H. Maxwell, Calumet's Washington representative, who was the picture of a beardless Santa Claus who had lost his gift list. When questioned about the negotiations, his memory went dead, only recovering slightly when the subcommittee showed him his own letters to Calumet executives citing progress on contract revision. He then admitted to Senator Symington that he was "astonished" to see what he had written.

On one occasion, Mr. Maxwell forwarded a summary of the top secret proceedings of the Defense Mobilization Board to his superiors. On another, he recounted how he was told that a solution to Calumet's difficulties would probably come "after the election." (Calumet bought its way out of its stockpile commitments for $197,000 three days after Mr. Eisenhower was reelected. The price was the one suggested to the company by Mr. Kunen 10 months earlier.)

The tip on the timing, Mr. Maxwell wrote, came from William Meissner, head of the copper division of the Commerce Department's Business and Defense Services Administration. But Mr. Meissner insisted in his testimony he was opposed to the deal, and brought the subcommittee a document that had somehow been mislaid in his office. It described a meeting where it was decided to hand the final deposition of the Calumet case to Mr. Weeks, Mr. Floete and Dr. Fleming.

A witness from the General Services Administration testified that on the day before the Calumet settlement was reached, GSA advisers and Mr. Floete were unanimous against any agreement other than the existing contract. But, he said, Mr. Floete completely reversed his stand overnight.

Despite the ammunition in their hands, Senator Symington and his counsels often behaved toward Calumet executives more as gracious hosts than as accusators. Perhaps they are awaiting the arrival of Mr. Floete, Mr. Weeks and Dr. Flemming. Of greater interest to the subcommittee at the moment are the activities of George Humphrey, Mr. Eisenhower's Secretary of the Treasury. There are indications that Mr. Humphrey, who was not compelled to relinquish his vast stock holdings when he entered the government, took an unusual interest in the Calumet case. There are also signs that something may be amiss in the stockpile dealings of one of Mr. Humphrey's companies – the only one of the stockpile suppliers whose contract did not allow a government audit of profits.

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Where Are the Shelters?

Civil Defense is the forgotten issue of 1962 – or so it seems at the House Armed Services Committee, where the Administration's shelter-incentive program is resting undisturbed. The Administration has asked for a total of nearly $700 million in fiscal 1963, $460 million of which would go toward shelter-incentive payments of up to $25 per shelter space per person in new institutional buildings. Chairman Vinson, who is in a less than charitable mood toward the Administration since the RS-70 affair, has yet to announce hearings. It appears probable that these will be scheduled for some time next month, but the laconic nature of the committee's reaction so far is not promising from the Civil Defense point of view. Moreover, another hurdle awaits the program in the appropriations hearings which must follow the Vinson Committee's approval. This year, the appropriation by virtue of the program's transfer to Defense Department jurisdiction must go before a subcommittee headed by a strong critic of Civil Defense – Rep. Albert Thomas of Texas.

Congress will probably not let the program collapse. There is the lure of federal funds; the attractiveness of subsidies for "dual purpose" space in hospitals, schools and similar public and semi-public buildings ought to stir up some local support.

The Civil Defense organization within the Pentagon is preparing to release within two or three weeks a series of architectural guides for group shelters, setting technical standards which will have to be met by builders hoping to qualify for federal subsidy. These guides, which will be distributed free to businessmen, school administrators, state, county and municipal authorities, will also help reawaken slumbering interest in mass-shelter construction. But the near-hysteria over shelters that swept the country for a few weeks last fall is not likely to be seen soon again.

Railroading

A correspondent whose letter is published in this issue raises a number of interesting points concerning railroads. When the Interstate Commerce Commission was established to regulate them, railroads were the monopolists of long distance or intercity transportation. Wagons, and barges on the rivers and canals, offered them little competition because of loading limitations and, in the case of water traffic, excessively slow speeds. When canal building practically came to a halt after the Civil War, the barons of the railroads came to power and ruled supreme through the rest of the century. The growth of networks of improved interstate highways, however, has brought on intercity trucking industry that has taken substantial amounts of intercity freight business away from the railroads. At the same time, airlines have cut heavily into their long distance passenger traffic. Since commuter or short-distance passenger traffic has been even more seriously affected by automobiles (more than 90 percent of such traffic goes in private cars and buses) many railroads would be happy to get out of such business altogether. Notwithstanding all the changes, however, railroads continue to be treated as if they were the monopolists of transportation.

Education and Research

Four cents out of every dollar spent in the US goes to research and development, according to the Bureau of the Budget. By this standard, $1 billion out of the annual $25 billion expenditure on education should be invested similarly: perhaps $100 million in research (*e.g.*, on how people learn to read, or whether having only women teachers deprives young pupils of something they need), and $900 million in development (*e.g.*, writing new physics textbooks, or experimenting with schools which use only a small, rigorously selected, highly paid staff, plus teaching machines, television sets, teaching assistants). Yet less than $10 million goes into research, and probably not much more than $60 million on development (the distinction is, of course, in many cases arbitrary).

The bulk of educational research is sponsored by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, which last year spent less than $5 million, and this year will probably get a little more than $6 million. In addition, some private foundations provide grants to scholars, especially psychologists, studying education, and some scholars do such work on their own.

For development, the National Defense Education Act will provide about $20 million this year – improved foreign language and science instruction, experiments with teaching machines and television, and education of disturbed and retarded children. The Ford Foundation is allocating a comparable amount to experimental teacher training programs, educational television, and the education of slum children. Carnegie also supports the development of new methods.

Unfortunately only a few gifted scholars work on education, which means that large increases in research funds might well be wasted – unless the new projects were planned so as to draw in talent from other academic pursuits. But even with existing manpower much more could be done to test theories developed by scholars. The federal government could profitably spend $100-$200 million a year on experimental pilot schools, of which this country now has almost

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none, and on vigorous evaluation of the results produced by our present educational system. Such evaluation might very well show that segments of our present $25 billion annual investment in education could be reduced, while other segments need rapid expansion.

The Crop Whip

In restoring the strict controls on the production of wheat and feed grains that had been recommended by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, but had been deleted by its own Agriculture Committee, and then passing the Administration's comprehensive farm bill, the Senate made history. Farmers have been able to blunt the effect of control measures based on the limitation of acreage rather than crops. The heap of surplus agricultural commodities now held by the government is an expensive indicator of the degree to which less and less farmland can be coaxed to yield more and more food if more and more fertilizer is poured into it. Under the new bill the production of wheat and feed grains (the present surplus of these commodities has cost the government $5 billion, plus storage and handling charges) will be subjected to direct control on a quantitative or bushel-allotment, rather than an acreage-allotment basis. Prices will be supported on just so much of a farmer's output. He will not be given a license to produce as much as he can on his land.

"Okay, Buddy – Start Peeling"

This obvious technique for regulating our too-successful agriculture has been opposed by commercial farmers for more than a generation. And they still oppose. Since they are more influential in the House than in the Senate, final passage of the bill will require a still greater effort by the Administration. The struggle over the tighter control feature in this legislation is likely to be prolonged, but the outlook is that the House will follow the lead of the Senate. Thereafter, it will be up to the affected farmers. In the course of the debate, Senator Proxmire, who voted "nay," predicted that "as sure as night follows day it will be defeated in the [farmers'] referendum." This may happen in the first year, but once the initial shock has worn off, farmers will probably go along.

Grain to China

That China desperately needs food and is willing to pay for it is seen in deals it has made with Canada, France, Australia and Argentina. These are the countries, plus the United States, which produce exportable wheat surpluses. Through its Wheat Board, a semi-government agency, Canada has signed several contracts with China providing 1.9 million tons of wheat and 20,000 tons of barley. Another sale may be arranged after July, depending on the quantity of the harvest both in China and in Canada. The Canadian terms of payment are 25 percent down and the balance within nine months.

Australia has agreed to sell 640,000 tons of wheat and China has an option to take another 60,000 – 10 percent down, 40 percent payable in six months, and the balance by the end of the year.

France has contracted to sell one million tons of wheat, barley and maize over a three-year period with 400,000 tons of this supplied during 1962. Terms of payment are similar to Australia's. And Argentina has sold approximately 100,000 tons of wheat and about 100,000 tons of barley to China. Here the terms of payment are not known precisely but probably less credit has been extended. All of these transactions have been conducted through private bargaining.

In addition to these purchases, China has agreed to buy 200,000 tons of rice from Burma which will be trans-shipped to Ceylon in exchange for rubber. There is also some indication that West German firms have sold about 50,000 tons of flour to Peking.

The problem for China is that wheat production and the market conditions vary so from year to year. Should the major suppliers have a poorer harvest this year,

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there will be less wheat for export and a tightening up of market conditions. In that event, all of the countries referred to above are likely to favor traditional customers over China. If that happens, a mediocre Chinese harvest may make the Chinese Ministry for Food even readier than now to approach the US for grain.

The Irrelevance of SEATO

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was born in the gloom and defeatism following the 1954 Indochina debacle. As Hans J. Morgenthau has suggested, Secretary of State Dulles thought of SEATO primarily as a psychological weapon which would impress on others our determination not to tolerate another Dien Bien Phu in Asia. But there was also a military rationale. Because the Geneva accord ending the Viet Minh war against the French barred the successor states to colonial Indochina – Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam and North Vietnam – from joining military pacts, they would be placed under external protection by a SEATO collective security declaration. Right from the start, then, SEATO was oriented toward Indochina; the Alliance never meant much militarily for the defense of its three rather lonely Asian member states, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines.

If only because the major non-Communist Asian Governments kept aloof, SEATO has had little to contribute practically to the defense of Asia. The pretense that even its Asian members could be relied on in a crisis has been destroyed in the past week. Pakistan, which is negotiating a border demarcation pact with Communist China, has indicated that it will not send even a token force to Thailand if asked by Bangkok or SEATO headquarters, pleading that all of its troops must be kept on the Indian frontier. "We really have to look after ourselves first," said Ayub Khan May 28. On the same day a bipartisan report from the House Foreign Affairs Committee suggested that so long as unanimity is required in SEATO action it "offers no security" in Southeast Asia.

SEATO's endorsement of the US Marine landings in Thailand means nothing, for the US has the right under the UN Charter to assist any nation requesting its aid in self-defense. What then is SEATO's value? It is entirely negative. Its continued existence is a political handicap to the US in Asia. Perpetuation of the fiction that SEATO has military significance lends an aura of importance to Pakistan as a nominal "ally," and this, in turn, serves to exaggerate the value attached to Pakistan as against its neighbor, India, the major non-Communist power of Asia. In giving SEATO a decent burial, the US would clear the way for a successor organization more appropriate to realities.

Canadian Elections

Battle lines are drawn for the election of Canada's 25th House of Commons on June 18; the contest is between the Progressive-Conservatives, who have been in power since 1957, and the Liberals. Neither the New Democratic Party – formed last summer by an alliance of Canada's Socialist Party and the Canadian Labor Congress – nor the Social Creditors seriously challenge the ascendancy of the Big Two. So far the incantations of competing politicians have stirred the pulses only of rabid partisans. The widespread apathy reflects the current confusion in Canadian politics. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, originally a Western agrarian radical, has dragged his party so far leftward from its traditional moorings that Lester Pearson, the Liberal leader, is hard put to find a clear-cut alternative program without a Socialist flavor unpalatable to his party's conservative element. Mr. Pearson has tried to dress himself up as an elderly Kennedy, but the whole point of Mr. Kennedy's campaign was that he was young – inexperienced, as Mr. Nixon used to say. Nobody says Mr. Pearson is inexperienced, and he does not have the appeal of youthful dynamism.

Both senior parties favor moderate tariff protectionism, the enlargement of the social security system by a national program of medical care, price supports for basic farm products, and the acquisition of nuclear weapons only as a last resort. Almost the only sharp issue between them concerns Britain's bid for entry into the European Economic Community, about which Diefenbaker is less than enthusiastic. He fears British withdrawal of tariff preferences from the overseas Dominions. Mr. Pearson holds that Canada, with the cooperation of the US, should work to enlarge the EEC into a North Atlantic trading bloc.

The Diefenbaker Ministry is claiming a fresh mandate on the ground that its policies have extricated Canada from a serious recession and expanded employment and export trade, that it has increased benefits for social welfare and that it has achieved a number of valuable reforms. But the Liberals retort that this has been accomplished by recklessly extravagant expenditures which have forced the devaluation of the Canadian dollar to 92.5 cents and will have produced at the end of this fiscal year budgetary deficits totalling about $3 billion. Unemployment, they add, remains high. In fact, if Mr. Pearson wins, as the latest Gallup suggests he will, it is likely to be because the Progressive-Conservatives came to office in 1957 just as the great raw materials boom was coming to an end. From 1939 to the mid-Fifties the world wanted Canadian wheat, wood, aluminum, nickel and uranium. The demand is now slackening, and the economy has not yet adjusted itself to new patterns of trade.

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EAST GERMANY WANTS LONG-TERM CREDITS FROM BONN

A Deal With Herr Ulbricht?

Bonn

On May 25 the Christian Democratic newspaper in Dusseldorf, the *Rheinische Post*, published a cartoon which showed Asiatics, Africans and South Americans queueing up in Bonn for development aid. In their midst is the crapulous figure of the East German dictator, Walter Ulbricht, carrying two placards. On one is written "Down with the Capitalists!" and on the other "Away with the Bloodsuckers of Bonn!" The caption underneath the cartoon is "Are you going to build a steel plant or a dam? No, I'm going to strengthen my Berlin Wall."

For more than two months Ulbricht has been putting out feelers in order to find out whether he can expect economic aid from his arch-enemies, the West Germans. The thought of this being done by the man who spends a good part of his waking hours denouncing the West German "militarists," "capitalists," "imperialists," "monopolists" and "warmongers" was startling to the West Germans themselves. When the news leaked out on May 22 the West German Government was struck dumb, as it always is when issues of national importance are thrust into the forefront of the news. Government spokesmen were unable to confirm or deny the report that Ulbricht was seeking a 2,500 million mark ($625 million; the West German mark is now worth $0.25) long-term credit from Bonn. The Ministry of Economics at first denied all knowledge of the matter (the Ministry was arranging at the time to send two leading officials to Berlin to talk to the East Germans about it). The Federal Press Office desperately admitted that something was in the wind.

The subsequent announcement, too, was diffuse and misleading. The West German Press Office sought refuge behind a mass of figures relating to interzonal trade between the two German states. This had nothing to do with Ulbricht's request for long-term economic aid. Interzonal trade is running at a two-way figure of only 1,800 million marks a year, with 1961 West German deliveries to the East German Republic worth 911 million marks, slightly below the 917 million marks worth of East German deliveries. The limited scale of interzonal trade alone shows how totally unrelated it was to the tentative negotiations which are going on.

There are several points of interest about these negotiations, which cannot fail to be regarded as strange in the extreme and which have excited some mistrust of the Federal Republic in Western countries.

The first is their scale. The East German Republic has so far been granted two long-term credits from the Soviet Union, of 2,000 and 1,300 million marks respectively. Ulbricht wanted much more from Bonn. In fact, the 2,500 million marks would have only covered purchases of coal over a 10 to 12 year period. Ulbricht wanted further credits totaling around 700 million marks, three-quarters of which would have been spent on West German machinery. The remainder would have been used to buy West German textiles and chemicals (it is curious that textiles and chemicals are intended to become the East German Republic's two biggest export products). The East Germans had made no concrete proposals about repayment of this long-term loan, save that it could take place over 20 years, and might be carried out by extending the oil pipeline which is being built from the Ukraine to the Oder and so channeling Russian oil into the Federal Republic.

The second point of interest is that a West German long-term credit to the East German Republic would, apparently, run counter to stated East German economic policy. This is dictated by political motives and aims at divorcing the East German from the West German economy during the next two to three years (the original target date for the operation was the end of 1962, but it has been abandoned by the East German regime). What could have induced the East Germans to make their economy more, instead of less, dependent on that of the Federal Republic? Superficially, at least, this is an insoluble riddle.

The question brings one to the third point of interest. This is that the East Germans would not, by choice, have turned to the West Germans for economic aid. They would far sooner have turned to the rest of the Communist bloc. Clearly, then, there is no more economic aid readily available from that quarter. It is fair to assume that the Soviet Union was primarily responsible for Ulbricht turning to his enemies for help.

And yet, the West Germans jumped perhaps too quickly to far-reaching conclusions. West German newspapers have been unanimous in claiming that the East German economic situation is catastrophic. They implied that the whole Communist bloc could not be in much better state. Their next thought was that giving aid to Eastern Germany could be made subject to certain conditions. The first should be that a proportion of the long-term aid should consist of the food-

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stuffs and medical supplies which the East German population needs so badly. The second was that greater freedom of movement between the two German states could be secured. The third was that the East Germans should "knock some holes" in the Berlin Wall.

These conclusions were too far-reaching, for one obvious reason. The East German economy is not on the point of collapse, even though it has failed to make anything like the progress demanded by Ulbricht and his masters in the Kremlin. Shortages of foodstuffs and consumer goods are not new, although the collectivization of the land has certainly resulted in the reduction of supplies of all farm products. The East German need for hard coal and machinery has existed ever since Germany was arbitrarily divided; the East Germans produce less than 30 percent of the crude steel that they need, and less than 15 percent of the coal (as partial compensation, they have a huge output of "soft" lignite). East German over-all industrial output is still increasing, although it cannot hope to overhaul that of Western Germany in the foreseeable future (it was intended to do so by the end of this year). In short, the situation may be critical. It is not catastrophic.

It was understandable that the West Germans had no desire to publish the news of the negotiations with the Ulbricht regime prematurely. So many interesting political possibilities were involved. But when the news of the negotiations slipped out anyway, there was so much that the West Germans could have done. They could have made a really attractive offer – in return for the freeing of movement between the two German states, and in particular in Berlin. They could have outlined the exact nature of the goods which they were ready to supply, with a heavy emphasis on those which raise the East German standard of living. They could have bought better living conditions and increased personal freedom for the 17 million people of the East German Republic.

Where issues of national importance are involved, the West Germans are terrified of offending their Western partners. Yet it only required the Federal Ministry of Economics in Bonn to collect the ambassadors of the Western countries and explain the revolutionary new situation to them. The West Germans are afraid of action. This is the result of Dr. Adenauer's play-safe policies, and of a defensive attitude of mind which is leading to diplomatic stagnation. It seems likely that the West Germans are missing a golden opportunity – for arresting the process of internal economic schism in Germany, for establishing closer contact with the forlorn and foresaken anti-Communist population of Eastern Germany, and for using their material wealth to capture the diplomatic initiative.

TERENCE PRITTIE

WHY COMMUNIST GUARDS LET 60,000 REFUGEES ESCAPE

No Place To Go, But Back

Hong Kong

From May 1 to May 25 over 60,000 refugees from Communist China came in daily waves of from one to two thousand, and then even five to six thousand, into the tiny, over-populated British colony of Hong Kong with its 391 square miles and 3.5 million inhabitants. This is the most massive exodus since the fall of the Kuomintang in 1949.

These men, women and children came over roads which, during the last days of April, were being patrolled night and day by the watchdogs of the Communist police; they passed within shooting range of the tommy-guns of the People's Army. In early May, however, the Communists made no effort to hold them back. Quite the contrary: the Chinese border guards often helped the refugees by guiding them toward the passages where they would stand the best chance of escaping the vigilance of the Hong Kong police and Her Most Gracious Majesty's "Gurkhas."

In this way, about 15,000 of these refugees managed to elude the police and the British soldiers. With the collaboration of the local populace, they then melted from sight, swallowed up in the anonymous mass of the million or so refugees gradually assembled over the past 12 years in the territory of Hong Kong. The other 45,000 refugees were led under heavy escort back to the frontier, weeping with despair.

The story has already been told of the heart-rending scenes which accompanied the forced repatriation of these poor people to a land from which they so desperately sought to flee. Many questions, however, remain unanswered. Why did all these refugees set forth together, at the same time? Why early in May instead of

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a month earlier, or six months earlier? And why did the border guards let them pass?

The sudden influx and the passive, almost accomplice-like attitude of the frontier guards, have led many observers to believe that the whole episode was a machiavellian ruse of Mao Tse-tung's, introducing a massive "Trojan Horse" into the British colony to provoke incidents and justify the seizure of Hong Kong by the Communists.

For my part, I have never, during my four years in the Far East (of which eight months were spent in Peking – October 1, 1958, to June 1, 1959), believed that Mao Tse-tung would be so foolish as to try to strangle that "goose which lays the golden eggs," for the Treasury of the People's Republic of China is one of the principal beneficiaries. My two week investigation in the refugee camps provided no evidence for any such Peking plot.

Another hypothesis widely circulated throughout a part of the Western press on both sides of the Atlantic also fails to hold water: the famine theory. The refugees whom I saw and the many I was able to question were not people who had fled a land in the grip of real famine. These were no "living corpses," as they have too glibly been described. They arrived at the border in a state of exhaustion from four to five days of trudging the roads; but most of them still had some food left.

They all confirmed the extremely precarious food situation in their province of origin; they also stated that this was their primary concern. But they were quite willing to admit that their food ration today is no smaller than it was six months ago, or even a year ago. Moreover, when they gave me a breakdown of their food ration – 450 grams of rice per day – it proved to be only slightly less than mine in Peking during the winter of 1959 (of course I did lose nearly 20 pounds in three months).

Why then the great exodus?

The responsibility for this mass departure rests entirely with the Peking Government. The reasons for it – and my contacts with the refugees themselves have convinced me on this point – lie in a basic error committed by the Chinese Communist leaders or, rather, in the inept and unduly brutal application of measures which are intrinsically quite understandable.

One of the main decisions made public after last month's "People's Congress" was to transfer large numbers of so-called "useless" citizens from large cities to rural areas. Owing to poorly developed transportation facilities, the large urban centers were apparently being hardest hit by the food crisis. The shutting down of many factories and plants over the past six months as a result of general economic deterioration had simply aggravated a problem which had been latent for several years.

Immediately after the closing session of the National People's Congress last April 16, measures for evacuating the surplus citizenry were put into effect (innumerable specific accounts confirmed this fact) in a most draconian manner. Once again local party officials tried to move too fast, either through an excess of zeal or for fear of censure from Peking. The consequences were three-fold:

– Dissatisfaction and desperation on the part of hundreds of thousands of "peasants whether they liked it or not," who felt they were being hustled off to forced labor;

– The disruption of rural institutions when confronted with too rapid an influx of new mouths to feed;

– The fear which swept over the peasants themselves when faced with the prospect of sharing with these unwished-for new arrivals the slim margin of advantage they still held over the people in the cities. They had managed to stave off famine thus far; they would not be able to keep it at bay much longer.

This is obviously what happened in the border province of Kwantung with its 45 million inhabitants, which is the source of all the refugees who arrived in Hong Kong after May 1. All of the evidence suggests that the same thing happened in several other provinces near large cities, and especially in Shantung. But the province of Kwangtung has a special feature: it has an "escape hatch," a common frontier 25 miles long which it shares with the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong.

And so, as soon as a substantial number of "displaced citizens" began to arrive in their communes – in other words, toward the end of April, about a fortnight after the initial carrying out of evacuation measures in certain cities, as decreed by Peking – the peasants of Kwangtung set forth, at first by the hundreds, then by the thousands, on a march for the border. The evacuees from the cities, who were the cause of their panic-flight, followed them. Inundated by the mass of marchers, the frontier guards preferred to avoid serious incidents. They let them pass. Many of the guards, sympathizing with the plight of the refugees and taking compassion on their misery, even aided them.

When confronted with this dangerous situation, Peking was undeniably reluctant to decree the use of force, as it had the power to do. Why was this?

Because the province of Kwangtung, although originally one of the cradles of Chinese Communism, has remained, paradoxically, a sort of Achilles' heel throughout the 13 years of Mao Tse-tung's rule. It is a turbulent province, and has always been a source of much trouble to the central authority. There have even been a number of minor insurrectionist movements of limited scope in the past 10 months.

Rather than fan the flames of Kwangtung's wrath, the Peking leaders were probably not unwilling to let

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these malcontents learn at their own expense that there is no haven for them outside the "edifice of socialism," and that – was the proof not clearly demonstrated to them? – the "Free World" wanted no part of them.

What, in fact, do the 6,000 or so Chinese refugees signify whom the United States is prepared to admit as an exceptional gesture? What do those 100 Chinese families signify which Canada has agreed to sponsor? What indeed, as compared with the masses which have streamed to the Hong Kong border since May 1? What meaning can these tiny numbers have, when the government in Canberra clings tenaciously to its "White Australia" policy, and Europe chastely averts its gaze?

Peking had no need to resort to force, at least not on any massive scale, when after repeated appeals from the government in London it felt the time had come to halt this futile exodus. The tactics of "persuasion" proved themselves sufficient to the occasion.

On the evening of May 23, along the roads leading to the hills which dominate Hong Kong, where the refugees were massing to await the night and risk crossing British barbed wire, trucks fluttering with red banners and equipped with loudspeakers made their appearance: "Return home, return to your People's Communes . . . You will not be punished . . . You can't pass down there . . . You will be driven away by the soldiers of British imperialism. . . ."

So spoke the loudspeakers, and they spoke the truth.

Jacques Jacquet-Francillon

M. Jacquet-Francillon, *correspondent of* Le Figaro *in the Far East, was awarded the French equivalent of a Pulitzer prize for his reports from China when he headed the Agence France-Presse in Peking, 1958-1959.*

How To Set Up a White Citizens' Council

Atlanta

A few days ago, they started setting up a White Citizens' Council chapter in Atlanta. Now this is not easy, as the incorporators told the 225 faithful and curious who showed up for the organizational meeting. Atlanta has moved into desegregation almost voluntarily in recent years. It is getting so you don't blink your eyes and look again when you see a Negro in what used to be a "white" school, or at the lunch counters downtown, or out on the tennis courts. If the folks who gathered for the White Citizens' Council meeting were hopeful of protecting both states' rights and racial integrity, which are the Council's mottos, they had a great deal of work ahead of them in this city.

A plainclothes policeman estimated that about 35 to 40 percent of the faces he saw at the meeting he had seen before at Klan functions. Another 25 percent were connected with the John Birch Society. The rest? "Curious people," said the policeman. Some of them were fellow officers. At least a dozen were members of Atlanta's growing community of liberals, who came to observe quietly. Three others were gentlemen from the Council's head office in Mississippi, brought here to get the Atlanta movement off the ground. And another dozen were active local folks. You could tell that because they were the ones who passed out literature and blank checks, made out to the "Atlanta Citizens' Council."

The speeches were about par. A man from Mississippi talked in broad terms, about some of the council's tenets. He hinted about giving Negro "invaders" in Atlanta a "welcome" such as they got in Mississippi, and some in the audience broke into fervent applause. He flailed at the "moderates" who seem to be running Atlanta right now. He told about the voter registration drive which is being mounted by such organizations as the Southern Regional Council, CORE, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The speeches droned on, the blank checks were handed out, the people at the rostrum made it plain that if you weren't ready actually to join the White Citizens' Council right that moment, and if you didn't feel like filling out that check, you'd better leave. Several left.

At the same moment, small numbers of Negroes were entering downtown theaters for the first time in the city's history. The integration of the movie houses had been worked out in painful negotiations, and that night it was being tested for the first time. The police reported no significant incidents. A few days later, a hotel agreed to house visiting baseball teams, regardless of color. A few days before, a three-judge federal court had struck down Georgia's county unit system, and it is almost a certainty that the next gubernatorial primary will be held on a popular-vote basis. The politicians are already rewriting their campaign speeches, changing "nigger" to "Negro."

And meantime, back at the White Citizens' Council meeting, the faithful were filling out membership forms. A middle-aged Atlantan walked out into the hallway and lit a cigarette. "Damn fools," he muttered to a reporter who was nearby, excluded from this portion of the organizational meeting. "They're just like all those other crackpots." "What do you mean?" asked the reporter, happy to find a little color in an otherwise drab story.

"Why they listed all those organizations that are against us, and they left out the Anti-Defamation League. It's horrible. They're scared of the Anti-Defamation League. It's getting so you can't join anything anymore. Nobody's got any guts anymore." He threw his cigarette on the carpet and stomped on down the hall toward the elevator.

Fred Powledge

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A Success Story

Industrious moralists doubtless will be impelled to inject a tragic element into the story of the late Henry M. Blackmer, who died in Geneva last week after a voluntary exile of nearly 40 years. It's a conditioned reflex. Moralists are committed to the doctrine that the Man Without a Country is a tragic figure. When they find one they are therefore in duty bound to make him tragic although, to the amoral eye, he may appear gay.

It is hard to discern the evidence that Blackmer, for instance, was other than a successful and reasonably happy man. He is supposed to have closed his fingers on no less than $10 million, and retained a considerable part of it to the end. How much of it he stole is a matter of conjecture, for the four counts of the indictment to which he pleaded guilty in 1949 certainly did not cover all of the swag. Anyhow, all that is beside the mark; he got it, and in the getting he fulfilled his destiny; for getting is the only perceptible social function of his type.

Blackmer crossed the border one jump ahead of the catchpolls, leaving behind him a record of extraordinary villainy, in the eyes of men of a different type, but of which he probably was ingenuously proud. He was if not a full member at least an associate of the gang that put over the Teapot Dome deal, a bit of rascality without exact parallel in American history because it brought upon the country the unique shame of seeing a former member of the President's Cabinet locked in a prison cell for taking bribes.

It was not for this, however, that the process-servers were after him. He was wanted as a witness in the case of Continental Trading Company, a different operation, although conducted by some members of the same group. The charge in that case was that the company had been set up as an instrumentality by which certain great business tycoons could rob the stockholders of their own companies. In the circles in which Blackmer moved, robbing the government was regarded as a venial sin, if not a positively meritorious act; but for a company manager to skin his own stockholders was serious.

Blackmer was believed to be familiar with this deal, but once out of the jurisdiction he could not be confronted with the alternatives of risking a long term in the penitentiary for perjury, or of exposing certain lordly tycoons as looters of their own companies; so he discreetly withdrew to Paris, where he would seem to have lived comfortably enough until he had to skip out to Geneva just ahead of Hitler's troops. But Geneva wasn't too bad, even in war time, for a man well supplied with American dollars.

There was that annoyance of an indictment for evasion of the income tax, about which nothing could be done for a long time since Blackmer had no taste for residence in a federal prison. At last, though, in 1949, the exile ventured to return attended by able counsel and learned doctors. His lawyers came to agreement with the prosecution to avoid the trouble and expense of a trial, and his doctors offered medical testimony that Blackmer's health was too impaired for him to be able to stand incarceration; so he was let off with a fine of $20,000 and allowed to return to Switzerland, where he lived to the age of 92.

On the whole, it was a notably successful career for a man of that type. An earlier and more sentimental generation shed buckets of tears over Edward Everett Hale's story of the Man Without a Country; but the protagonist of that story was a patriot who had once had a country, but forfeited it, while Blackmer was essentially an anarch who never had a country, therefore could not lose one. As an anarch, equally against all governments, he did very well for himself.

Nevertheless, we shall undoubtedly be subjected to endless disquisitions on the hollowness of Blackmer's apparent triumphs, seeing that he had forfeited the respect of honest men and was driven from his native soil. Which is balderdash. To a sturdy rogue the respect of honest men is an embarrassment, since it casts doubt upon his ability as a swindler, and exile is merely an annoyance depriving him of opportunity to work on the suckers whose imbecility he understands.

More to the purpose would be unemotional examination of the nature, and especially of the identifying marks of the kind of anarch who throws no bombs, merely monkey-wrenches into the gears of the economy. For Blackmer was far from unique, and the most sinister aspect of the Teapot Dome affair was not the stealing, but the relative immunity that the crooks enjoyed. Fall, indeed, went to jail, not because he exceeded all the rest in villainy, but because he was not as nimble as some of the others, Blackmer for instance, in eluding the legal myrmidons.

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Sidney Hyman

The Man on Top

History has shown that the wonder-working power of the Presidency has its limits, and no matter how hard the White House fights for health insurance, the Congress may decide otherwise.

When the malaise of an anti-politics gripped the nation in the last years of the Eisenhower Presidency, the search for a cure came to center on the idea of "Presidential leadership." A President who would push, pull, cajole, inspire, threaten – that's what we needed.

This new President would use all the legal power and the political authority of his office to advance the nation's business. When opposed by the Congress, he would do more than make a few phone calls, have some men in for lunch, or dangle before them a postmastership or two. He would appeal over the head of the Congress to the people. He would be their conscience, their tribune, their prophet and their captain sounding a call for a stand to arms. And they would not fail him. In a mass rally from below, they would help him force the Congress to fall in line.

John F. Kennedy subscribed to this concept of Presidential leadership, and as a candidate helped to popularize it. Yet he had not been in the White House a full year before friendly critics were heard to mutter about the uncomfortable resemblance between the manner and the results of the Kennedy and Eisenhower Presidencies. The critics were not blind to Mr. Kennedy's special problems. They knew that he had to consolidate a post-election majority that would "legitimize" his presence in the White House as the youngest and as the first Catholic President in American history. They knew that the international troubles he inherited imposed their own priority on what he did first, and at the same time made him wary about doing anything that could divide the nation when it faced so many external dangers. They also respected the argument that the "balance of payments" problem, with its widespread ramifications, set certain limits on the scope of the domestic programs the new President could initiate. Nonetheless, when the critics in question looked at Mr. Kennedy's performance in domestic matters, what they saw resembled the familiar Eisenhower cycle of the Big Build-up followed by the Big Let-down.

There was talk of "let's get America moving again," and not much motion. Scarcely a day passed which did not see a new manifesto of good intentions. But the day afterward, the subject of the manifesto either lost its follow-through predicate, or an accomplishment the size of a gold-fish was made to seem as big as a whale. Meanwhile, there was the tendency to by-pass a contest in the public forum, even for long-range educational purposes, and to manage things in a corner. There was the inclination to think that the President's first duty, like the paramount aim of progressive education, was to "integrate himself with the group" – the legislators, the publishers, even the opposition. There was the defensive wish to see in the popularity polls a certificate of political virtue. There was the reluctance to draw on the enormous fund of good will toward the man in the White House and his charming family, to sustain a fight in the nation with the object of winning a fight in the Congressional forum.

The critics who felt these things to be true about Mr. Kennedy's Presidency and were made uncomfortable by them are now witnessing a dramatic reversal in the President's tone and style – a real battle to sell health insurance for the aged.

It does not detract from the effort to say that the battle, if won, would bring America abreast of where Bismarck's Germany stood in its social security program in the 1880's, and the point reached by the greater part of Western Europe around 1910. In this particular fight, Mr. Kennedy is updating the manner of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman and is using to the hilt all the personal prestige and all the political powers of the Presidency. In preparation for the climactic struggle with the Congress, he has personally mounted and openly led a war to undercut the AMA, to divide the counsel in its inner citadel, and to detach the rank-and-file doctors from the self-perpetuating oligarchy that manages it. More importantly, he has helped to engineer mass rallies of "senior citizens" in support of health insurance, and hopes they will ignite a blaze that sweeps up from the prairies and makes Congressmen

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jump for safety to the side of the President. "The business of the government is the business of the people," Mr. Kennedy proclaimed to thousands of admiring oldsters who came to Madison Square Garden on a hot May 20 (and to many thousands more who watched on TV). "We ask you. . . . We depend on your help. . . . Give us your help." And the people responded to his appeal with cheers.

Leadership of this vigor and dash conforms so closely to what many people have been urging, that to stand back now and reflect on its limits – from the standpoint of practical results – seems as odd as an announcement from the Vatican that God might be dead. Yet the limits are real where domestic matters are concerned. They operate regardless of who is in the White House, and what he wants to do. What's more, they point up a little appreciated distinction that has come to rule the relationship between the President and the Congress.

Yes Abroad, No at Home

I mean, specifically, that in the last 25 years Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy jointly, have won the support of the Congress for virtually every major foreign policy move on which they placed great store. The "destroyer-for-bases" deal, Selective Service, Lend-Lease, US membership in the UN, the Greek-Turkish aid program, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin airlift, technical assistance for underdeveloped countries, military support for the UN as in the case of the Communist attack on South Korea, the formation of NATO and other mutual security alliances, the stationing of US troops in Europe, "Atoms for Peace," the formation of new international financial institutions, long-range planning of foreign aid, the creation of the Peace Corps, and all other major Presidential initiatives in the field of foreign affairs, have been approved by the Congress. Points of detail could be and often were compromised in the face of Congressional objections. But the heart of what the President of the hour wanted, the Congress approved.

In that same 25-year period, however, regardless of how often or how eloquently the Presidents appealed to the people in matters of domestic policy, the Congress has just as often said no as it has said yes. Since 1938, the Congress has approved various Presidential initiatives affecting social security coverage, wages and hours, housing, roads, urban renewal, and special measures in support of educational programs related to the national defense effort. But it has marked time, has bypassed, or has directly obstructed virtually all Presidential moves to get at the root of the major unfinished business left over from the high-water mark of the New Deal's domestic accomplishments. Banking reform, tax reform, the problems created by automation, the need for a comprehensive program of federal support for education, the problems of the metropolitan areas, and so on, have found the Congressional anvil breaking whatever Presidential hammer was brought into play.

It is too early to say whether, in the specific case of health insurance, the President will in the end have his way. There has been a pronounced increase in the volume of incoming Congressional mail, but beyond this the light of prophecy fails. The President himself at a recent press conference discounted the nature of the mail as an index to popular feeling.

In the last week of May people were writing their legislators to say that they never knew before what was at stake, but now that the President had enlightened them, they were vehemently opposed to what he wanted to do. Legislators known to their constituents as favoring health insurance are not getting letters of support when the prospective writers feel no need to win over a man who is already converted. But the same legislators are getting letters from opponents of health insurance financed through social security. On the other hand, known opponents are getting passionate letters urging them to fight all the harder to prevent its enactment, while their constituents who favor it are not heard from – presumably because they feel it would be a waste of a four-cent stamp.

Meanwhile, still other legislators report that the mail is divided fairly evenly between the pros and the cons, but that they are ignoring both. Why? Because within each bloc, the opinions expressed are couched in such identical terms – down to the way the postage stamp is placed on the card or envelope – as to suggest a put-up job. Lastly, and most confusing of all, there is the report from one legislative office that while the health insurance mail has increased, it is a trickle compared with the mail on another subject that has *not* been made the object of a nationwide Presidential show – namely, the President's proposal to withhold federal income tax on dividends and interest at the source of payment. When the incoming mail on this subject runs between 30,000 and 40,000 letters in less than a week, compared to 1,000 letters in the case of health insurance, how is the legislator to know how his constituency feels about something the President *really* wants.

The first great limitation, then, on a President aiming to govern by "public opinion" is the difficulty of ascertaining what that opinion actually is on the specific domestic matter at issue.

The second, related limitation was expressed by Machievelli when he observed several hundred years ago that before there can be a Moses, there must first be children of Israel who want to get out of Egypt. Thus a President can "go to the people" but the people may not be predisposed to make his case their own. They

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will ignore him, or even resent his seeming to be too much of a leader.

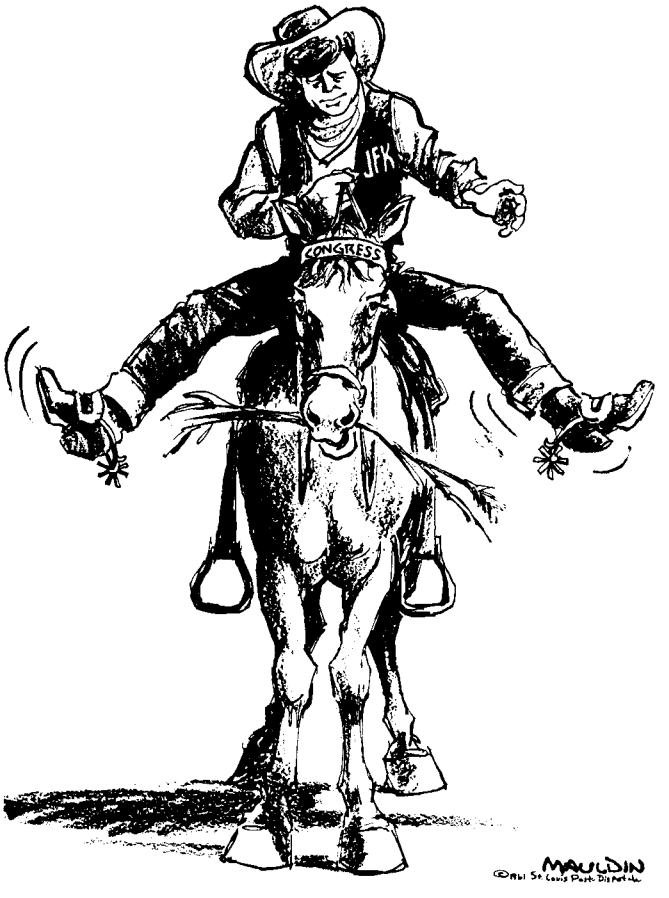
The third great limitation is the reverse of the foregoing. It is nonsensical to assume that in any controversy the President is right and Congress wrong, and that it is tantamount to a national calamity when the people don't rally to the side of the White House. The President can err. And when there is mobilized behind his error all the power a President has, the people can spare themselves a calamity by *not* falling in step with his wishes. They know that too.

But when all this has been said, we return to the truism that the Presidency represents a national constituency, and Congress does not. In the Senate's case, it represents the states, viewed as sovereign equals. In the case of the House, it's a gerrymandered institution in which the seniority system and fantastically unequal representation enables a small minority, from static rural and "non-issue oriented" urban districts alike, to impose their will on the very districts where Presidential elections are won or lost – where the President has the greatest personal interest in winning public opinion to his side – and where public opinion cannot reach the minority of men in control of the House.

Moreover, the Senate and the House rarely sit as a Committee of the Whole, after the fashion of the House of Commons when a measure is debated. The Congress does its work through a maze of Committees and Subcommittees – some 250 or so by the last count. Confronted by this maze, public opinion, assuming there is one, does not know where to turn to speak its piece. It tends to wander around the political landscape like a displaced person, growing more diffuse in its aim, and more discouraged by its own sense of confusion. Nor is it helped much by the masters of the Committee who are skilled in passing responsibility for what is done from hand to hand, so that no one, except paid lobbyists resident the year round on the Washington scene, can pinpoint the real source of any transaction or the "swing-man" who can decide it.

Do these men on Capitol Hill believe the President speaks for the nation, while they do not? To expect such modesty from legislators would be as contrary to nature as the creation of mountains without valleys. The Congress does not like to think that it is being downgraded in national importance. It suspects that it is not structurally equipped nor does it have the expert knowledge to maintain a position of co-equality with the President in matters of diplomatic or military interest – as it once did. In this area, it suspects that the march of history, intersecting with the President's traditional Constitutional role as chief organ of foreign affairs and as the Commander-in-Chief, has reduced the significance of the Congress. It can revise, refine, review and come to the support of the Executive's initiatives in national security matters, but it can take few initiatives on its own. And its pride is hurt by its encounter with this truth. What, then, is there left for the Congress to do? If it were the House of Commons, it could enjoy being the electoral body that chooses the Executive and makes the Executive depend on its pleasure. But it is denied even that satisfaction. It has no direct role to play in the election of the Executive, and short of an impeachment cannot overthrow him.

What there is left for it to do is to entrench itself as the arbiter of what goes on in America's cities, towns and farms. Here is where the Congress can parade itself as the defender and the only true representative of all local and regional interests against the "centralizing tendencies" of the Presidency. And it is here, in a grim and sometimes passion-ridden defense of its own institutional importance, that the Congress will fight for the right to have the paramount say in what goes on. It will fight for this right in defiance of the President, in defiance of the public opinion he mobilizes, and in defiance of the fact that the sum of all local and regional interests do not necessarily add up these days to the national interest. Above all, it will fight for right of primacy in domestic matters in defiance of the fact that what we do at home, where the Congress regards itself as supreme, often predetermines what the



Old Ironsides

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President can do abroad – just as what we must do abroad often defines what we must do at home.

Short of a war or a 1929-style depression, then, we must ask to what extent "Presidential leadership" – a concept to which I myself subscribed for a long time – can change the way Congress goes about disposing of the nation's domestic affairs. The redistricting drive sparked by the Supreme Court's recent decision may provide a measure of relief in the long run. But what may be in store for us meanwhile may prove to be not a crisis of "Presidential leadership" but a bona-fide *constitutional* crisis, in which the Congress – and the House in particular – having taken on itself the willfull obstructionist function of the Supreme Court in the early New Deal Days, provokes another clash with the Presidency which does no one any good.

Big Business in Space

The Case For Government Ownership

by Estes Kefauver and William Fitts Ryan

One point Asher Brynes overlooks in his article on "Big Business in Space" (April 23, 1962) is that placing our communications satellite system under private ownership would constitute the greatest giveaway by government in our history. This system has been developed in the federal government – primarily the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Department of Defense – and thus has been financed by tax dollars. Dr. E. C. Welch, Executive Director of the President's Space Council, stated that in excess of 90 percent of our space communications capability has been taxpayer financed. By the end of fiscal year 1963 the federal government, NASA and Department of Defense will have spent over $470 million on space communications satellite research and development. This does not include any of the billions of dollars which have been spent on space exploration, rocketry, guidance, *etc.*, which also contribute to satellite communications technology. This expensively acquired "know-how," and the internationally shared natural resources of space and the radio spectrum, are the essential and the overwhelmingly important "capital" of any communications satellite organization. James Webb, NASA Administrator, has testified before the House Commerce Committee that basic research and development will continue to be done by the government, even if a private communications satellite corporation comes into being, and that such development will inure to the benefit of such a corporation.

The taxpayers' equitable property rights in any commercially usuable satellite communications system, by virtue of their investment, is widely recognized. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy testified before the House Commerce Committee: "It is our firm conviction that the general public should be permitted to participate in this proposed corporation. A monopoly created by legislation should not be turned over to a favored few. This is even more true when the probable success of this venture has been assured by governmental research and development at considerable cost to the taxpayers."

The Attorney General was testifying in favor of the Administration proposal to reserve half the capital stock of the corporation for purchase by the American public, rather than give ownership entirely to a consortium of existing communications carriers. But the Administration proposal merely adds a favored few to the favored few. While substantially all working Americans pay taxes, a recent study found that 1.6 percent of the adult population owns 82 percent of the stock held by individuals. This should be no surprise. Commonly one buys stock only with surplus funds, after the needs and amenities of life are provided and savings and insurance are adequate. It is no answer that the stockholders are going to place additional funds at risk. The opportunity to do so is a privilege which others may envy. Dr. Welch, testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee, said that commercial success is certain. He gave three reasons: (1) expanding demand for the service, (2) improving technology, which will lower costs, and (3) absence of competition. The simple and

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SENATOR KEFAUVER *(D, Tenn.) is one of the six co-sponsors of S 2890, a bill to establish a public communications satellite corporation modeled on TVA, instead of the Administration's proposed private corporation.* REPRESENTATIVE RYAN *(D, N.Y.) sponsored a bill similar to S 2890 in the House.*

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intelligent way to vindicate the taxpayers' investment is to continue taxpayer ownership, in the manner of the TVA and the Panama Canal Company. In the face of the facts and the equities, giveaway to a private corporation can only be explained by special-interest pressure and doctrinaire devotion to private ownership.

Since the system's revenues will result almost exclusively from taxpayer-financed expenditures, these revenues should likewise accrue to the benefit of all taxpayers. These revenues will undoubtedly be substantial. If not, why is AT&T investing millions of dollars of its own money? Indeed, any attempt to minimize the system's potential is contrary to the Administration's position and that of other observers. It is shared only by the carriers, who are nevertheless very eager to limit control of this "unprofitable" enterprise to themselves. If the system will not be profitable for a long time now, why aren't the carriers willing to let the government retain it during this unprofitable period? And why did AT&T's Vice President demand a government subsidy for any nonprofit operations if he didn't anticipate there will be other highly profitable operations?

In his article, Mr. Brynes also avoids any discussion of the infinite and unprecedented economic, social, political and diplomatic implications of space satellite communications, as pointed out by the State Department and other authorities. Negotiations with Russia are in the offing; many other problems and ramifications are still unknown. For these reasons, the President originally insisted that the State Department conduct and supervise foreign negotiations. The carriers objected so vigorously, however, that the State Department has been relegated to the job of assisting the corporation where foreign policy considerations are involved, but only if requested by the corporation. It may be noted, as a sign of things to come, that AT&T has already indicated a reluctance to go into underdeveloped areas regardless of our foreign policy objectives without any additional government subsidy.

Play It Our Way, or Else . . .

There is something frightening about the suggestion running throughout Mr. Brynes' article that the carriers themselves might boycott any but a privately-owned system. They appear to be telling the government, "you play our way or not at all." If as Mr. Byrnes says, "industry is not likely to work as rapidly on hire to the government as it would in carrying out this program on its own," may we expect AT&T to argue that its manufacturing subsidiary, Western Electric, performed its Nike contract for the Army less well than it performs services for the Bell System? On the other hand, we will concede that Mr. Brynes could make a case against further hire to the government by Western Electric in view of its vast profit-pyramiding on Nike contracts, as recently brought out by the McClellan Committee. Testimony before the Committee indicated that Western Electric took $77.3 million of profits on the work of others to whom it had subcontracted Nike production.

Government ownership is the only way of ensuring that we speedily adopt the best technology in space satellite communications. Allowing the carriers, with their extensive investment in present facilities, to control this great new facility is not only dangerous to development, but it is contrary to the long standing policy reflected, for example, in our refusal to allow one form of transport such as railroads to control another form, such as the airlines. The danger is obvious; as Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach observed, there will inevitably be the temptation to retard development of the new and competitive facility to protect and ensure a full return on the old.

The problem is particularly acute with respect to adopting the high orbit system conceded by all but AT&T to be the best. The low system will indeed go up first if AT&T dominates the corporation, for AT&T is investing $50 million in such a low system which it can hardly be expected to abandon. Hughes Aircraft Corporation, however, claims to be able to put up a working high system in the very near future if it gets a NASA contract; RCA's David Sarnoff has declared that by the time a global low orbit system becomes operable, it will be obsoleted by the high system. However, if the carriers put up a low orbit system, they will have no inducement to hasten the introduction of the high system until they get their investment back on the vastly expensive low system. A government-owned enterprise will not be held back by such factors.

Private ownership offers nothing indispensable: In the first place, an enterprise's technical competence comes from its staff, not its owners. How many of AT&T's shareholders know anything about the telephone business? And right now, as it did in 1946, the government is running the only truly global system of

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 23 — *August 6*
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worldwide communications, the Army Signal Corps.

Secondly, interconnection of facilities does not require common ownership. The independent telephone companies, AT&T, RCA and others have been interconnecting with each other for years without common ownership and with equipment not manufactured by any of them. Finally, the communications industry does not have the technical competence to put up a satellite system faster than the government for without the government's past, present and future research and development, private industry can do absolutely nothing.

But the most glaring omission by far in Mr. Brynes' article is the absence of any real discussion of the monopoly aspects of the problem. Government ownership appears to be the only way to avoid the antitrust problems resulting from the creation of a private monopoly by legalizing a joint venture dominated by AT&T.

Many people look to a communications satellite system to bring competition into the monopolistic communications industry. AT&T presently has a 100 percent monopoly of international voice communication originating in the United States, and a virtual monopoly of domestic long lines. Users must accept AT&T service and pay AT&T tolls on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. A competitive alternative would be a healthy development, especially to be welcomed by competing international carriers, independent telephone companies, broadcasters and telecasters, news services, and other large users, including our federal government. Only the threat of competition from private microwave systems caused AT&T recently to file its TELPAK tariff, cutting rates by as much as 80 percent in some instances. The legislative proposals sponsored by the Administration and the industry, respectively, would both deliver satellite communications into the hands of the corporations with which it is expected (1) to compete as a long line and an international carrier, and (2) to bargain, as a carrier's carrier. Without independence, a satellite organization cannot be expected to pursue either of these businesses with vigor. Since these communications companies each have manufacturing subsidiaries or divisions, we cannot expect much competition in its procurement of equipment, either.

Ineffectiveness of Regulation

Even the proponents of the consortium proposals recognize these difficulties, but they would resolve all by FCC regulation.

Public regulation of private enterprise has certain inherent limitations which are fatal to the fulfillment of the national goals mentioned above. Its power is only inhibitory. It cannot substitute its decisions for the business judgment of the corporation's directors on such important matters as what type of satellite system to adopt. It cannot require a private corporation to operate at a loss, or at less than a reasonable profit.

In addition to these inherent defects, all observers have recognized the failure of the FCC in common carrier regulation. The FCC was established in 1934. During its entire existence it has never completed a full formal rate hearing on telephone rates. It has not developed any criteria for judging what is a reasonable rate of return. Beyond requiring certain uniform accounting practices, it has never thoroughly examined AT&T's asserted costs, including the reasonableness of the prices AT&T pays its wholly-owned subsidiary and exclusive supplier, Western Electric. A current independent study for the Budget Bureau is only the most recent of a series of reports unanimous in their conclusion that the FCC is ineffective in this area. The Hoover Commission Report, the Rand Corporation Reports, and the Landis Report for President Kennedy are the others. Whether this failure is due to lack of men and money, as the Commission pleads, or whether it is due to absence of will, as such commentators as Professor Dallas Smythe observe, is immaterial. The failure is a matter of record. Competition is a better regulator than "regulation." In his recent transportation message, for example, the President called for less regulation and more competition.

The American people look to satellite communication as an instrument of their effort to bring about a peaceful and friendly world. Global coverage must be provided, although traffic with much of the world will not be profitable. Furthermore the government is entitled to use of the satellite system *at cost*, in bringing America's message to the people of the world. A private corporation with primary responsibility to stockholders cannot undertake such activity.

Our basic job now is to proceed at top speed with development. We should not hasten to give away this revolutionary natural resource, especially since there are so many unresolved questions and problems, both technical and otherwise. The American people, through their government, are doing all that needs to be done, and no one else can do anything more that is useful.

Let us not be misled by false slogans. Private ownership of the satellites will not be free enterprise, for that presupposes competition and risk capital. Here, there will be no competition, since a private monopoly is what is being created, and the carriers face no risk since their investment will go into the rate base where the telephone and other communications user will foot the bill. Actually, this will be the first instance in our history of a government created private monopoly.

Dixon-Yates, the atomic energy patent fight of 1954, and Teapot Dome are too recent for us to ignore. The still unknown potential of the space satellite system is so vast as to make those instances seem trivial.

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Summer's Coming

by John R. Tunis

Some distant day after the last cobalt bomb has fallen, a new race of people will explore this earth and discover in an abandoned cave in the Dordogne or Thessalonica, a worn volume that will describe us North Americans better than all the sociological documents of the sixties.

This volume is Temple Fielding's *Travel Guide To Europe.* Although it

Travel Guide to Europe
by Temple Fielding
(Sloane; $6.95)

out-sells perhaps 90 percent of books published today (probably between 60,000 and 75,000 each summer), and the print order exceeds that of all the other travel guides combined, you will never find it on any best-seller list. Now in its 15th edition, the *Guide* has made its author a rich man with a villa and four servants at Formentor, on the north side of the island of Majorca, one of the beauty spots of Europe.

The idea for this book was born at Camp Bragg, N. C., during the war, when young Fielding was asked by his superior officers to prepare a list of bars, cafes and clip joints on behalf of the troops training at nearby Fayetteville. The result was amazingly successful. In 1948, he brought out his first edition of the *Guide to Europe.*

Fielding was astute enough to realize that the desires of the American away from home are elemental: bars, B-girls and bargains.

Do you wish to know where to ski in Austria, how to obtain an audience with the Pope, or meet a woman in Copenhagen, what hotel to pick in Alicante, ("the Carlton, skip all others")? It's there in 1,200 pages, and as Mr. Fielding puts it; "No punches are pulled pointing out the clip joints ready and waiting for the unwary traveller." His book is completely independent. "We have stuck to one inflexible rule *always;* no payola, commissions, rake-offs, kickbacks, or outside compensation in any form. . . ."

Just why he hasn't been knifed in some of the aforesaid clip-joints is a mystery. Once he was threatened by a Spanish guide because he exposed the gentleman's habit of steering tourists to certain shops on commission. He has been sued 25 times, and so far lost only one suit. When you consider the length of the book, this is quite a record.

An edition necessitates 125,000 words of entirely new copy, and takes six months of work on the road dining in 500 restaurants, and inspecting 650 hotels, and wining in 200 night clubs. If he hasn't visited a country, a city or a hotel he tells you so. All this he does with the help of his wife, a former New York public relations girl, who also edits the *Temple Fielding Guide to Selective Shopping* ($1.95). In addition, the Fieldings market a *Currency Guide* ($3.95), which helps the travelling American in the conversion of foreign currency, and an *Epicure Guide to Europe,* which for $15.50 lists the top restaurants of Europe and entitles you to one free drink when you buy a meal in one of them.

Mr. Fielding might be termed the founder and principal exponent of the impressionist school of travel writing, superseding Karl Baedeker of Leipzig, whose red-covered volumes were full of prosy bits such as, ". . . the fine equestrian statue of Henri IV by Lemot, was erected in 1817 to replace one of 1635 (see relics, page 112) which was converted into cannon in 1729."

Since statues hold little interest for Fielding's readers, the author gives it to them straight, like a halfback plunging into the Yale line. Yet if his style is not classical, his meaning is deadly clear. Under the heading "Sexy Blonde," he recently advised the clients to "take a good look at her . . . there's a new strain of gonorrhea so hardy it eats sulfa and penicillin for breakfast." Assisi, he points out, "is a wonderful town for about an hour, if you're average. On the whole, overrated." Speaking of a bar in Lisbon, he claims the hostesses "could easily be entered in the Westminster Dog Show." Of the restaurant at Pompeii, "We'd rather lunch on seal blubber, Ken-L-Ration and Octagon soap than chance another crack at the Ristorante Turistico."

Could candor go further? Mr. Fielding, as these samples attest, has a probity not too common among travel writers: The British climate is foul, he doesn't care for American Express Tours on the Continent, and considers the Swiss roads the poorest in Europe.

Mr. Fielding likes KLM, which he regards as the aristocrat of airlines, the Savoy in London, tops in hotels. He admires the Englishman "with his unique greatness," and loves Spain, where "everyone has simple but adequate lodgings, plenty of food, a job to go to, a Sunday suit to wear, a strong family life, and enough centimos over for a glass of wine."

The *Guide* is divided into 25 chapters. Every chapter is sub-divided into sections; Money, Language, People, Attitude Toward Tourists, Hotels, Food, Trains, Airlines, Restaurants, Night Clubs, Tipping, Things To See, Things To Buy, Local Rackets. The largest sections are always those on night clubs and buying.

When he explains that "Rome is simply crawling with history," or that "you could put the Waldorf Astoria into St. Peter's," the clients immediately have a frame of reference. Mr. Fielding, an honor graduate of Princeton who speaks several languages, explains that the "Edinburgh Festival needs no introduction to any culture lover," and that "Belgium has plenty of cathedrals and all the museums and art galleries any classicist may wish for." His readers understand.

If he chooses to spend 25 pages on

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Majorca and only 33 on Belgium, who can say the proportion is wrong? In Madrid, the Prado gets six or seven lines, while night clubs consume that number of pages. You will search the section on Paris in vain for the Cluny Museum, the Carnavalet, or even Sainte Chapelle. Chartes and its cathedral are not in the index, nor yet is the Wallace Collection, the Tate or the National Gallery. In Holland the Dutch School gets a short paragraph, with the usual nine devoted to restaurants and five to night clubs.

Why not? Isn't this what the American tourist hankers for?

Here we are as we really are, the majority of travelling Americans; imperceptive, incurious about the peoples they visit, unable to communicate with them in their own languages, heedless of the art treasures of ten centuries, anxious for their creature comforts while away from home and quite ready to pay for them.

Venice is "an absurd and wonderful dream," Messina is "a gem of a city-to-miss." In the Porto d'Oro, at Santa Margherita on the Italian Riviera, the "hostesses are all Gold Tooth Gerties." And at Chez Eve (Place Pigalle) in Paris, there are "three shows nightly with about 20 mademoiselles who wouldn't know what to do with a brassiere if they stumbled over one."

This is the stuff to feed the troops. Mr. Fielding with his villa at Formentor has proved it.

Off Limits for Conscience

by Alan Levy

On Monday, August 6, 1945, Major Claude E. Eatherly, piloting a B-29 weather plane called the *Straight Flush*, found a hole in the clouds over Hiroshima. Eatherly recalls: "I sent my coded message which was the final 'go-ahead' to the bomb-carrying plane" – another B-29, the *Enola Gay*, cruising behind. Eatherly led the mission through the break in the overcast. The *Enola Gay* dropped an atomic bomb that killed 91,233 people and injured another 37,425.

Burning Conscience
The Case of the Hiroshima Pilot
Claude Eatherly told in his letters to
Günther Anders
(preface by Bertrand Russell;
foreword by Robert Jungk)
(Monthly Review; $4)

Three days later, Eatherly led another mission – over Nagasaki. Again, the *Enola Gay* followed him and dropped a bomb. This time, 73,884 Japanese died. Five days later, World War II ended. Eatherly – 27 years old and a onetime student-teacher from Texas – had lifted the curtain on the Atomic Age. He received the Distinguished Flying Cross. He and his crew were christened the "Victory Boys."

But on the island of Tinian, where they were awaiting their return home Eatherly would not speak to the other "Victory Boys" for days on end. His crew attributed his moodiness to battle fatigue, which Eatherly had suffered once before – in 1943 – and licked. But this time it was different. Neither the world nor Claude Eatherly would ever be the same again: "I was unable to forget the act," he said later, "and . . . the guilt of the act has caused me great suffering." From the moment he had dispatched his historic command to the *Enola Gay*, Eatherly was numbered among the *victims* of Hiroshima.

The Air Force discharged him in 1947 as suffering from a "neurosis with psychotic manifestations." Eatherly blamed himself for acquiescing to the second mission: "After I saw the destruction at Hiroshima, I didn't want to go over Nagasaki. But I went." He drank heavily. He couldn't sleep. He took to stuffing money into envelopes and mailing them to Hiroshima. In 1950, he took an overdose of sleeping pills in a hotel room, but he lived.

In 1953, he forged a check and served nine months in a New Orleans jail. In 1957, he was accused of breaking into two post offices in West Texas. He also entered a grocery store, pointed a gun at the cashier, told him to put all the ready cash in a bag, and then he left without taking the money. When caught, as he always was, he told one district attorney that the Japanese were after him. On some occasions, he pleaded innocent by reason of insanity; in others, the cases were dropped when he agreed to enter a hospital. He has been in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Waco nine times.

In the fall of 1960, after being rebuffed in an effort to be discharged from the hospital, Claude Eatherly walked out of the psychiatric ward and escaped. Shortly before Christmas, 1960, however he was arrested for a traffic violation in Dallas. In custody, he insisted that his guilt complex had "been getting better the last six months. All I want is a break." He told a court that he was learning to "live with" his problem though he "hadn't had any sleep in 15 years." A jury decided that he was insane. He was committed to the veterans hospital.

Claude Eatherly does not consider himself a madman. He views his decade of lawbreaking as part of "my determination to shatter the 'hero image' of me, by which society has sought to perpetuate its own complacency." He refers to "anti-social acts while in a confused state seeking punishment for myself." Noting that he spent nearly eight of the last 15 years in hospitals plus several days in jail, he remarks: "I always seemed happier in jails because I had a release of guilt by being punished." He sees himself as a symbol of the pacifist revolt:

> "To most people my method of rebellion against war is that of an insane person. No other way could I have made people realize that nuclear war is moral degeneration as well as physical destruction. It does not matter to me what people think of my moral character if it will only make them stop and think that they must not let the same thing happen to themselves and their children."

But he feels that his rebellion has been thwarted:

> ". . . I have been having such difficulty in getting society to recognize the fact of my guilt, which I have long since realized. The truth is that society simply *cannot* accept the

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fact of my guilt without at the same time recognizing its own far deeper guilt. But it is, of course, highly desirable that society should recognize this, which is why *my* . . . story is of such vital importance. Now I accept the fact that I am unlikely to bring about that recognition by getting into scrapes with the law."

If he is known at all in America, Eatherly is known as a case; elsewhere, he is a cause. John Wain, the British author, has even written a poem about him that reads, in part:

Leave him; if he is sleeping, come away.
But lay a folded paper by his head,
nothing official or embossed, a page
torn from your notebook, and the words in pencil.
Say nothing of love, or thanks, or penitence;
say only "Eatherly, we have your message."

Eatherly's sanity hearing in Texas last year was covered voluminously by the foreign press. A correspondent for a French newspaper wrote back: "Eatherly was probably the most intelligent person in the whole courtroom." Writing to President Kennedy, an Austrian pacifist, Günther Anders, called the Eatherly case "a moral scandal which threatens to go down in history as the Dreyfus Affair of the 20th Century." Eatherly's remorse is often contrasted with that of his Commander-in-Chief, Harry S. Truman, who said – as his 75th birthday approached in 1959 – that he had "never lost any sleep" over the decision to bomb Hiroshima. In a letter to *The New Statesman and Nation*, Bertrand Russell asserted that:

"Eatherly is repentant and certified; Truman is unrepentant and uncertified. I have seen a number of Eatherly's statements explaining his motives. These statements are entirely sane. But such is the power of mendacious publicity that almost everyone, including myself, believed that he had become a lunatic."

I met Claude Eatherly briefly during one of his rare periods of freedom – at the 1958 Kentucky Derby, where he had been invited to a reunion of his crew members. He was a wiry, leathery man with a crinkly western smile. There was a savage, barely repressed mockery in his eyes and voice as he gave one fatuous statement to the local press. He was contending that Derby Day was far more exciting than August 6, 1945: "That flight was just routine. This is the Kentucky Derby. To us, it's more earthshaking."

On June 12, 1959 – from Building 90 at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Waco – Eatherly replied to a sympathetic letter from Günther Anders. The two men struck up a correspondence and later, with Eatherly's tacit consent, Anders compiled their letters. Ironically, they were published first in German – under the title, *Off Limits for Conscience* – last year. This year, they were published in Britain as *Burning Conscience*. The slim volume has just been published in America.

Burning Conscience is no measure of the man's sanity, but it does hint at his infinite misery. It may be said, too, with some justice, that *Burning Conscience* isn't Claude Eatherly's book, but Günther Anders'. Of its 71 letters only 28 are by Eatherly. And because Anders is the more garrulous of the two their book makes particularly lumpish reading. Anders constantly lectures his captive audience. Much of *Burning Conscience* is Anders' advice to Eatherly on how he might sell his story to the movies without compromising his dignity: "I happened to see a review of a Bob Hope picture which must be simply nonsensical. I think he has to be eliminated from our consideration" (as producer of the Eatherly saga). And: ". . . the idea of Audie Murphy portraying you doesn't appeal to me at all. It is quite clear that the movie business hopes for a sensation because 'one hero portrays another hero.' I have never seen Audie Murphy in a picture; maybe he is an actor. . . ."

In 1960, when President Eisenhower's good-will visit to Japan (later cancelled) was threatened by student riots, a United States Senator asked Eatherly whether he would exert his prestige as a pacifist to quiet down the young Japanese. Eatherly obliged. As Anders notes: "How cynical that the man who is excluded from the outer world . . . as mentally ill is being regarded in the

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opportune moment to be sufficiently competent to influence the world. . . ."

When the pen is in Eatherly's hand, the book becomes an affecting, almost childlike, biography of a friendship between two grown-up pen pals who have never met, but who have the same obsession. For all its faults, *Burning Conscience* begins to document a story of which we have had only fragments.

Adolf Eichmann, whose achievements in mass murder dwarfed those of the *Enola Gay's* crew, held to the end that he "was merely a little cog in the machinery that carried out the directives and orders of the German Reich." His lawyer contended that Eichmann bore no more responsibility than the man who doomed Hiroshima. But Claude Eatherly would not have it that way. In a twisted, mocking way, the Texan shouldered responsibility which nobody says is his.

Look Bankward, Angel

by Stanley Kauffmann

"He described his dealings with banks, he outlined the ways of getting a project started with the least possible cash, and talked about limited partnerships, general partnerships, syndicates, and corporations; about the inside position and the outside position, the fee position and the lease position; about the importance of leases in hand before construction begins."

"Several times, too, Winter stopped him from going into losing ventures: things like the stock flotation of a new Cuban oil company, and a massive purchase of US government bonds, with a loan of a million dollars from a bank."

"'He didn't bring it in for a million six, he spent almost two million dollars. It may well be worth the money and I even think you may end with a capital gain'."

"They all bore themselves as though they had a lot of money. But he wondered how many of them could meet two simultaneous calls for seventy-three thousands dollars and three hundred thousand dollars in cash."

Youngblood Hawke
by Herman Wouk
(Doubleday; $7.95)

These are excerpts from a new novel about an artist's struggle to serve his art. His name is Youngblood Hawke, and his author is Herman Wouk. As the whole literate world knows, or will shortly know, Hawke is a novelist, a composite of Thomas Wolfe and Wouk, with Wolfe's background and ferocious energy, with Wouk's practicality.

The novel of money and money dealings has a long and important history since Balzac – since the time when fortune, like sex, became possible to anyone with sufficient desire for it. This, to my knowledge, is the first novel about a novelist's drive for money, with subject and hero and author all merged, a fictional autobiography in cash terms.

All the excerpts above are concerned with Hawke's investments. (He also is involved in a law suit of his mother's, which in itself returns a mint.) His negotiations about his books with publishers, agents, film and theatrical producers would provide an even more glittering galaxy of *gelt*. Hawke, out of the Sea Bees in 1946, dead by 1953, moves from the very first chapter toward the million dollars that he wants in order to free himself for serious work. His immense 330,000-word saga ranges from New York to the South to the West to Italy and England – even to a McCarthyesque committee hearing – trying to gather all of its era into its earnest, maladroit embrace.

The pace is as propulsive and as uncomfortable as relentless shoving in your back. The style, at its highest moments, is commonplace. The characters (including those diluted from Wolfe's books) are constructed with the knit-browed, honest concentration of a child working with a Meccano set. The sex is puritanically tinged. ("Naked except for earrings and her wedding ring, Frieda Winter sat on the bed." "The sweetness of that time was gone. He had spent it in the piercing pleasures of an adultery.") The ideas that are expressed ("People are just people, and that's a great truth") are the utterances of a tapioca mind.

What is chiefly depressing about this novel is that there is no fakery in it, not a trace of cynicism or cold-blooded commercial contrivance. It rests on a base of horrible, suffocating sincerity. Every word of it is written from the heart, a heart that beats in unison with millions of others. Wouk never has to ask himself whether he is going too far for his public with "frank" statements about politics or sex or is including too many business details for men. He knows instinctively what to do because he *is* his public and they are he.

Consequently (and this is its only real interest) this novel is a microcosm of our time, an unwitting biopsy of the social body that reveals monetary malignancy. The novel's high financial content confirms the canon-

Helte-Shelte

Whan that Aprile with its shoures drede,
the blood of men hath perced hert and hede,
and bathed every veyne in swich licour,
of which engendered ruin is the flour;
whan Zephirus eek with his cruel breath
inspired hath to maladye and death
the tender croppes, and the younge land
is black from which the Bomb hath not been banned,
and smale fowles fail their melodye,
that droppe doun with numbe tongue and yë,

so bitter in their brest the breeze is felte:
then longen folk to flee inside a shelte.

NORMA FARBER

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ization of the big deal and the big dealer, and installs money-making *as such* among the accepted virtues of the romantic hero.

And for a successful author to take a successful author as his subject – a master stroke! In every Lunt-Fontanne production Mr. Lunt always caressed Miss Fontanne's bosom or bottom at least once. The audience knew that the two stars were married and this was a peek they were being granted into private lives. Here we get the chance to watch Wouk in *his* private life – caressing his ledgers, murmuring with his accountants.

In *Youngblood Hawke* our country has at last the novel that shows up the phony bohemians, the pseudo-intellectuals, the second-raters. If the artist is none of these, if he is genuinely first-rate in his art, he, too, can have just as many fiscal transactions as any other decent member of the community, he can phone his broker with the best of them.

Djilas' Adventures in the Kremlin

by Elie Abel

The long day's journey of Milovan Djilas has carried him from a state of early rapture over Stalin and his works ("at the time I was still capable of believing that I could be a Communist and remain a free man"), through a period of tormenting doubt to a final rejection not only of Stalin and his courtiers but of Communism itself.

Conversations with Stalin
by Milovan Djilas
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $3.95)

Conversations with Stalin is the highly personal log of that journey, which took Djilas three times to Moscow and into the presence of the *Vozhd* himself, at those intimate Kremlin suppers where the great man and his assistants "gorged and drank themselves into a stupor while ordaining the fate of Russia and the Russian people."

It is a tale of horror and disenchantment, containing little that is new after all these years of public and private Stalin-baiting by Nikita Khrushchev himself. The original memoranda of these conversations were incorporated in Vladimir Dedijer's authorized biography of Tito – with the Yugoslav President's explicit approval – back in the days when both Dedijer and Djilas were pillars of the Belgrade regime and Tito was still the arch-heretic of international Communism.

The fact that Djilas has been clapped back into prison for writing this book may surprise and shock those Western liberals who have come to regard Tito, since 1948, as a "national communist" and something of a liberal himself. Djilas, knowing better, cannot have been surprised. "Even though my book dealt with the past," he observes in the foreword, "it could not but impinge on current political relations," meaning Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union, or (more precisely) Tito's relations with Khrushchev.

Today, Tito and the older chieftains of the Yugoslav Revolution consider themselves allies of Russia against China in the struggle for leadership of the Communist bloc, and supporters of Khrushchev against unnamed neo-Stalinists in the Soviet party leadership. The Djilas book might have embarrassed Tito in his current courtship of Khrushchev; reason enough, under Yugoslav law, to reincarcerate him.

Embarrassment number one may well be Djilas' memoir of Khrushchev in 1945 as Stalin's lieutenant in command of the Ukraine. Djilas gives Khrushchev his due, praises his sense of humor, his simple and unaffected behavior, his vitality, his readiness to "look into matters" affecting the life of the people and to remedy them, while bureaucrats seldom stirred from their offices, dealing only with mountains of paper, never with people.

Djilas describes his bewilderment on discovering that Khrushchev, chief of the Ukrainian party and government in Kiev, was not a Ukrainian at all but a Russian:

"He himself avoided mentioning it, for it would have been embarrassing if not even the Premier of the Ukrainian Government was a Ukrainian! It was indeed unusual even for us Communists, who were able to justify and explain away everything that might becloud the ideal picture of ourselves, that among the Ukrainians, a nation as numerous as the French and in some ways more cultured than the Russian, there was not a single person capable of being Premier. . . .

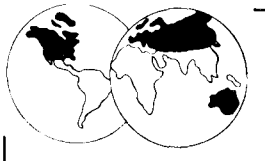
"Nor could it be concealed from us that the Ukrainians had deserted en masse from the Red Army as the Germans advanced into their regions. . . . We still could not quite accept the explanation that this state of affairs in the Ukraine was caused exclusively by the stubbornness of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The question imposed itself: Whence this nationalism if the peoples of the USSR are really equal?"

Khrushchev's rise to power is passed over with cryptic generalization:

"It is known how one rose in Stalin's Russia: certainly by dint of determination and dexterity during the bloody 'anti-kulak' and 'anti-party' campaigns. This would have had to be especially true for the Ukraine, where in addition to the aforementioned 'deadly sins' there was 'nationalism' as well."

As for Khrushchev's personal qualifications, Djilas observes:

"Neither then nor now – after care-



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on
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JULES FEIFFER

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FOR INSTANCE WHAT WOULD YOU SAY ABOUT OUR RESUMPTION OF ATMOSPHERIC TESTING?

OH, YOU'D SAY **THAT** WOULD YOU? AND HOW WOULD YOU HANDLE DIVISIVE QUESTIONS ON RACE RELATIONS?- **I** SEE -. AND ABOUT OUR BERLIN, NATO AND ASIAN POLICIES? -MMM - **HMMMM** -
WELL, MR. TOOMUCH, INSTEAD OF ALL **THAT** COULDN'T YOU JUST **PLAY** SOMETHING ON YOUR HORN?

I MEAN ISN'T **MUSIC** TRULY THE BEST COMMUNICATOR?

HEAVENS, **NO** ONE IS TRYING TO SUPPRESS YOU, MR TOOMUCH, BUT IT **IS** SORT OF **YOUR** IMAGE OF OUR IMAGE AGAINST **OUR** IMAGE OF OUR IMAGE, ISN'T IT? AND SHOULDN'T IMPORTANT DECISIONS ON IMAGE BE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS EXPERTS WHO MAY HAVE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED PUBLICITY THAT YOU DON'T KNOW ABOUT?

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fully reading his speeches at Congresses – did I have the impression that his knowledge went beyond the limits of classical Russian literature and Russian history, while his grasp of theory was on the level of an intermediate Party school. . . . Equally astonishing is his knowledge of some rare facts and his ignorance of some elementary truths. . . . The commonplaces with which his conversation abounds are the expression of both real ignorance and Marxist maxims learned by rote. . . . I do not think he would trouble himself much over the choice of methods as long as they brought him practical results. . . . He likes to quote the proverb, 'In a fight don't stop to pick cudgels.' It serves him well to justify the cudgel even when there is no fight.

"At that time . . . I could not detect in Khrushchev any disapproval of Stalin or Molotov. Whenever there was talk of Stalin, he spoke of him with respect and stressed their closeness. He recounted how, on the eve of the German attack, Stalin had phoned him from Moscow warning him to be on the alert, for he had information that the Germans might begin operations the next day – June 22."

Khrushchev told rather a different story in his "secret speech" before the Twentieth Party Congress eleven years later. He accused Stalin of having ignored repeated warnings that Hitler was about to invade the Soviet Union.

In his concluding chapter, Djilas poses a question that Khrushchev – and Tito, for that matter – have never answered. Granting that Stalin was a monster, combining the qualities of Caligula, the Borgias and Ivan the Terrible, Djilas wants to know "how such a dark, cunning and cruel individual could ever have led one of the greatest and most powerful states, not just for a day or two but for thirty years."

Until that question is answered honestly by Stalin's present critics (his successors), Djilas says,

"... they will only confirm that in good part they are continuing his work and that they contain in their own make-up those same elements – the same ideas, patterns and methods that propelled him. . . . And as long as that [Communist] party fails to break, both in its theory and especially in its practice, with everything that comprised the very originality and essence of Stalin and of Stalinism, namely with the ideological unitarianism and so-called monolithic structure of the party, it will be a bad but reliable sign that it has not emerged from under Stalin's shadow.

"Thus the present joy over the liquidation of the so-called anti-party group of Molotov, despite all the odiousness of his personality and the depravity of his views, seems to be shallow and premature. For the essence of the problem is not whether this group is better than that, but that they should exist at all – and whether, at least as a beginning, the ideological and political monopoly of a single group in the USSR shall be ended. . . . Despite the curses against his name, Stalin still lives in the social and spiritual foundations of the Soviet society."

The remarkable thing about this book – in spite of an indifferent translation, the awkward style that Djilas carried over from his apprenticeship as a party publicist and its lack of substantial new information – is that it grips the reader's attention to the last page.

Stalin comes alive in all his cruelty. There is the grotesque episode when the dictator, holding a glass of champagne, turns on a terrified Kremlin waiter and orders him to clink glasses to "Yugoslav-Soviet friendship." That night in the Kremlin, Djilas discovers that "life is possible without Stalin's love." There is another ugly scene in which Stalin, gibing at the aged and decrepit Kalinin, forces him to refuse a cigarette offered by Tito. "Don't take any – those are capitalist cigarettes," he shouts to the confused President of the Soviet Union. And Kalinin drops the Yugoslav cigarette from his trembling fingers while Stalin laughs at the discomfiture of his faithful figurehead.

When Djilas has the temerity to complain that the Red Army has been raping Yugoslav women, Stalin cuts him off: "What is so awful in having fun with a woman? The Red Army is not ideal. The important thing is that it fights Germans and it is fighting them well. The rest doesn't matter."

He teases Tito by comparing his Yugoslav partisans unfavorably with the Bulgarian Army, an outrageous comparison obviously designed to hurt Tito's pride. Stalin calmly justifies his land grab in Eastern Europe: "Whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach. It cannot be otherwise."

Both Djilas and Tito are horrified by Stalin's drinking bouts ("Plain decadence," Tito grumbles, as he is whisked home to his villa). The Yugoslavs, whose country has been bled white in the partisan struggle, are even more upset when Stalin hitches up his trousers, like a boxer between rounds, and cries out: "The war will soon be over. We shall recover in 15 or 20 years, and then we'll have another go at it."

On a subsequent mission to Moscow, Stalin urges the Yugoslavs to go ahead and swallow up Albania. Djilas patiently explains that Tito proposes not to swallow his smaller neighbor, rather to unify the two countries. "But that is swallowing," Molotov interjects. Stalin – bunching the fingers of his right hand and bringing them to his mouth, for graphic effect, adds: "Yes, yes, swallowing. We agree with you. You ought to swallow Albania – the sooner the better."

Djilas feels acutely uncomfortable. For the first time he begins to suspect that "something was not right"about Tito's plan to make Albania a Republic within the Yugoslav Federation. For the first time also, Djilas becomes aware that the Soviet Union has "swallowed" the Baltic states.

At the end of another Kremlin orgy, Stalin turns on a record player and tries to dance in the fashion of his native Georgia. He stops abruptly, complaining that age has crept up on him. The courtiers flock around to assure him: "No, no, nonsense. You look fine. You're holding up marvelously. Yes, indeed, for your age. . . ."

Stalin then turns up a record in which dogs yowl and bark an accompaniment for a coloratura soprano. The Soviet Union's almighty arbiter of taste laughs immoderately but Djilas is not amused;

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new university thought

The myth of a death struggle, which Kennedy exploited so effectively, demands as its complement an implacable foe, relentlessly pressing on our defenses at every point. Khrushchev's failure to exploit his lead in missile technology suggests a need on our part for a re-examination of the myth.

Robert Paul Wolff
Assessing the Soviet threat

●

The principal aircraft firms are nominally under private management, while even their office furniture and water coolers may be government property. Thus we may have management nominally private, operating production facilities that are almost entirely publicly owned, and selling to one customer: the government.

Seymour Melman
The economics of armament and disarmament

●

All strategists seem to agree that one kind of war is intolerable and must be deterred, rather than fought: the all-out thermo-nuclear war . . . But agreement stops at that point.

Arthur I. Waskow
Three sides of the Pentagon

●

I believe that there are millions of citizens who are intensely concerned with the great issue of our day—peace. They are searching for ways to express constructively their hopes and aspirations.

Rep. William Fitts Ryan
Peace politics at the precinct level

special issue

Peace, 1962

This special 168-page issue includes, in addition to the above, articles on disarmament negotiations, effects of the bomb, civil defense, Berlin, and many other subjects, as well as a special section describing peace organizations and the "politics of peace."

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"Well, still," Stalin explains, half-apologetically, "it's clever, devilishly clever."

His meetings with Stalin were a succession of shocks for young Djilas, who came to Moscow burning with Communist zeal and a moralistic fervor that was to make life impossible for him, a few years later, even in Tito's less Byzantine surroundings.

Only once does he strain my credulity, in complaining that the Soviet intelligence service assigned prostitutes to compromise foreign visitors for blackmail purposes. Djilas cannot be so totally naïve as to pretend that the Yugoslav secret police, even when he was riding high as one of Tito's chief lieutenants, did not follow the same practice.

Toward Increasing Government Spending

by Murray Silberstein

Peter Bernstein's contention is that increased government purchases of goods and services, far from hobbling the private sector of the economy, will be needed to stimulate it. He believes that only if government spending is upped 50 percent from present levels by 1970 will the economy be able to provide reasonably full employment for approximately 80 million workers. In this book, he spells out the peril of too *little* government spending; and dismisses the danger of too much.

The Price of Prosperity
by Peter Bernstein
(Doubleday; $4.50)

To support his point, Mr. Bernstein has collected an impressive array of statistics. He uses them to contrast the decade from 1947-1957 with the present decade, 1960-1970. In the first, there was a combination of factors that sustained a high private demand. There was a huge backlog of unsatisfied needs stemming both from the depression years and from the war; there was an enormous excess of savings, accumulated during the war; there was a relative shortage of workers which led in turn to higher wages, and the need for much new labor-saving equipment. Now, as he painstakingly points out, none of these shortages exists. Backlogs have been satisfied; liquidity, in the form of excess savings, has been exhausted; and instead of a relative scarcity of labor, there is a surplus which is growing. As a measure of the difference, 14 million new jobs will be needed in the next 10-year period as compared with only seven million that were required in the decade beginning after World War II. If the fifties were a decade of shortages, the sixties will be one of surplus.

It is against this background of surplus that Mr. Bernstein reaches what for many people, will be an upsetting conclusion. He shows that the odds are against this country's achieving an $800 billion economy and against the economy's ability to provide 80 million jobs in 1970 if the government continues to take only 20 percent or less of the total Gross National Product (this is the approximate present percent taken by government). To achieve those goals, annual increases in output 4.7 percent would be required. Yet at no time in the last 20 years have there been increases of that magnitude. Such increases are more reminiscent of a young economy, or of one arising from the depths of a depression, or of one being rebuilt in the aftermath of a war. They are hardly to be expected of a mature society.

Disturbed by what he views as the inability of the private sector to expand sufficiently, Mr. Bernstein questions the validity of proposals to cut taxes on incomes and profits. As he points

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John R. Tunis *makes his first* New Republic *appearance with this issue.* Alan Levy, *formerly a newspaper reporter, has written several books on current affairs.* Elie Abel *is diplomatic correspondent of NBC news in Washington.* Murray Silberstein *is a security analyst and partner in a brokerage firm.*

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out, the case for tax cuts rests on two assumptions:

1. That there is no limit to the demands of businessmen and consumers as their incomes rise, and

2. That expenditures in the private sector are "better" for the economy than government expenditures. As Mr. Bernstein demonstrates, neither assumption is necessarily correct.

Mr. Bernstein thus gives statistical sinews to the arguments of such men as John Galbraith and Robert Theobold, who hold that the public sector of the economy has been starved. Except from the fact that he does not examine in sufficient detail the possibilities in incentive taxation, he has written an extremely valuable book. Anyone who wishes to join the debate about how fast the US economy can grow should read it.

ART

Monument Men

Monumentality is in short supply today. We've been getting a look at the shortness of the supply in Washington in the matter of the FDR memorial. Mr. Francis Biddle procured the services of experts, opened a competition to the widest possible field and came up with a design abominated by the local Fine Arts Commission and denounced by the Philistines as "instant Stonehenge." I suppose the main missed point there is that whoever laid out the original Stonehenge did quite a job; even in ruins, even with its purposes lost in time and its people drowned in immigrations, invasions and conquests, that arrangement of dressed rocks still exerts a powerful spell and most of that spell comes from the proportions and layout of the great fragments themselves. There are intuitively understood relationships of space and of volume, of a man's footsteps across or around a great circle, of a man's height compared to the height of these stones. It is from this geometry of movement that Stonehenge draws most of its power to compel our attention and our awe.

To judge by its works so far, the Fine Arts Commission itself prefers Roman or modified Roman in art and architecture alike. The only problem this presents is that it has become increasingly difficult, since about the year 476, to find good Roman architects. The result, in Washington, is bad Roman architecture and monuments that don't make anything monumental except the mistakes of the commissioning agencies.

Of the three best known monuments in town, only one, the obelisk erected in honor of Washington, relies principally on visual impact. The other two derive their main effect from the two kinds of experience that the proposed and denounced FDR memorial builds on: kinetic and literacy. The thing to do with the Jefferson memorial, for example, is to walk around the tidal basin, with or without cherry blossoms; from that walk you see a charming classical temple and you half expect Alexander Pope to greet you at the doorway. You climb the steps to the memorial, these being so proportioned that it's all but impossible to run up them; you move reflectively and the temple gets bigger as you near it; you enter and walk around the gigantic figure of Jefferson in a dressing gown, though the monumental and memorializing effect works best if you ignore the giant. The temple is open to four sides: sky, land and water are seen through the columns. On the walls and around the base of the dome are graven Jefferson's words. It is at this point, reading his thought, that the monument comes alive. The same thing is true of the Lincoln memorial (although the statue there is somewhat better).

In both cases the classical reference in the architecture is completely accidental. In both, the elder of our tribe is successfully memorialized by the fusion of his thought and our bodily motion. We walk, as it were, in and around his words. The real classical reference is to peripatetic political philosophy in the most general – and at the same time most literal – sense of the term. The words of the elders are words to live by; we are invited to walk for a bit with the elders and go on our way refreshed and better members of the tribe.

But this, manifestly, is precisely what the Biddle group's design is up to. From the point of view of monumentality, the proposed FDR memorial is simply the successful abstraction of the vital elements of the Jefferson and Lincoln memorials.

According to the Department of Labor, the government is about to move back into respectability in its use of art and architecture, getting away from ice-cube tray No. 5 in buildings and from those big-assed horses of gilt or concrete, but especially getting away from the notion that a dollar spent on art is a dollar thrown down the rathole or a dollar handed the Commies, to employ the even more tasteful expression made popular by the House Committee on Un-American Activities a dozen years ago.

This would be a good thing. The government has been running scared in art ever since it got terrorized by Congressman Dondero, since, thank God, retired. The State Department, for example, has been putting up some first class embassies around the world, but for art it still depends on handouts. The prospect is that we will gradually recover the momentum we had up to about 1948 when Dondero struck.

If this sweet change is to come about,

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however, some one will have to instruct the instructors, namely the boards, commissions, councils and what-have-you performing at large the role now performed in small – even picayune – by the Fine Arts Commission.

The appearance at this time of a record of the FDR Competition may help this needed process of education. The book is *The Architecture of Monuments*, by Thomas H. Creighton, editor of *Progressive Architecture* (Reinhold, $6.95) and is a comprehensive and thoughtful review of the Memorial Competition. More than 250 photographs and drawings of submissions bear out the difficulty of finding good Roman architects nowadays: there aren't even any bad Roman designs. Whether architectural, sculptural or pure landscape, the overwhelming majority of the submissions show realization that the designers, the public and FDR himself are all residents in the 20th Century. Creighton's review of the submissions and his sensitive description of the winning design convince you not only that the winner really was the best of the 574 – though we see less than half of them – but also that the winner would be an extraordinarily appropriate memorial to FDR and fit beautifully into its site on the Potomac, a spot described as almost the hypotenuse of a triangle the points of which are the Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials. He discusses modern monumentality and the virtues and dangers of competitions. The main danger is one that perhaps could have been averted had this excellent book been published simultaneously with the final results of the competition, that danger being immediate and uninformed comment appearing in the press and that comment creating a hostile attitude among the public, Members of Congress and, perhaps, the Fine Arts Commission itself.

The question, as of this writing, is unresolved; the issue is before Congress, where it must surely – and understandably – be regarded as one of the less important matters to be got through before adjournment. Congressional rejection through one or another of the various methods seems at least an even chance. Such rejection would have consequences far beyond the loss of what increasingly seems to me a superb design. For Congress will also be rejecting a well-thought-out effort to get integrity and intelligence into the creation of national monuments, hence to get those same scarce qualities into all governmental ventures in art and architecture.

Despite the shortage in monumentality, the two best shows in New York this spring were both extended demonstrations of the monumental, the sculpture of Henry Moore at Knoedler's and the painting of Fernand Léger at the Guggenheim.

The new Moore work at Knoedler's comprised no new departures. The sculptor has reached the point at which the utmost simplicity can convey everything, and more, that used to come with more detail. The mother and child sink ever further into primeval rock – marvelously conveyed not in stone but in bronze – and their forms become organic geometry without losing their own identity.

The Léger show was the first of a "Master Series" which will enrich our lives if it follows its own beginning. Subtitled "Five Themes and Variations," the exhibition assembled Léger's paintings and drawings on: The Divers, The Cyclists, The Constructors, The Country Outing and The Great Parade. In all five the familiar "tubist" people are posed in or against the familiar simple colors and fluid black line. The line and the colors are part of the conception which often, amazingly, recalls a posed group from the days of early photography: the team, the picnic group, the workers on their site, the paraders, seem to have lined up for the group photograph which will fix them forever. Because it was Léger and not a camera, they are fixed in the soul's eye. From these commonplace, more or less public, persons and events, there emerges the authentic monumental.

Léger monumentality is, in a way, at the opposite pole from Moore's. The British sculptor begins with archtypes and myths and brings them home to ourselves. The French painter began with us – at work or sport – and brought us up to the stature of myth and archtype. Both are monumental because both work the connecting line between our common clay and our uncommon aspirations. FRANK GETLEIN

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Correspondence

The Railroads

Sirs:

I would like to take exception to a basic contention in your comment (April 21) on "Rich and Poor Railroads." You seem to feel that excess capital within the railroad industry should not be drained off into other forms of business but rather plowed back into railroad transportation in order to support less able lines, and you specify the current trend toward merger. With this I tend to agree.

However, you use the word "monopoly" to describe the situation of the Kansas City Southern, and I can only presume you infer other railroad "monopolies" to exist within this country. Nothing could be further from the truth; there is no longer such a thing as a railroad having a monopoly of transportation in any area of the United States.

Today railroads generally do not compete with other railroads. There is no point in it, and in fact the purpose of mergers is to eliminate such competition and wasteful duplication of facilities. But the railroads do have heavy competition with other carriers, particularly trucks and inland waterway barges for freight, and private passenger cars and airplanes for passengers. This competition is quite strong and has become a serious problem to the railroad industry.

You seem to feel that the Kansas City Southern should lower its rates and fares, thus passing savings and profits on to the public. What you perhaps do not realize is that the railroads are prevented from doing this very thing by ancient rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Rail rates are kept high on purpose under the assumption that this protects railroad competitors, thus keeping those competitors healthy. In other words, railroads are not allowed to compete with trucks, barges, and other forms of transportation which seem to have all but put the New Haven out of business, and which in the past six years have forced total abandonment of two Class One railroads with others to follow.

Robert A. Ramsay
Arcadia, Calif.

YEAR OF TRIAL, *Helen Fuller's study of the first year of the Kennedy administration, will be published on June 13 by Harcourt, Brace and World. Miss Fuller is a contributing editor of* The New Republic *and was its managing editor from 1951 to 1961.* YEAR OF TRIAL *is her first book.*

Estes and the Yarboroughs

Sirs:

Regarding your May 28 reply to Tom Camfield's letter: the $1,000 to which *The New York Times* referred is the sum that Billie Sol Estes gave to Senator *Ralph* Yarborough for the purchase of 10 tickets to a dinner sponsored by the Democratic National Committee. The *Times* erroneously attributed this contribution to *Don* Yarborough. The only money Don Yarborough ever received from Estes is the $50 contributed in Don's 1960 Lt. Gov. campaign.

Dave Shapiro
Austin, Texas

In reply . . .

The *New York Times* has rechecked, and reports that its May 24 story was in error, and that, as Mr. Shapiro says, the $1,000 Billie Sol Estes check went to Senator Ralph, not candidate Don Yarborough. THE EDITORS

Who's Working for Teddy?

Sirs:

Among the many questionable statements in the article on Ted Kennedy in the June 4 issue of *The New Republic* was one about me. It said:

> "Milton Gwirtzman, Senator Smith's Administrative Assistant, is working full-time at the Ted Kennedy's headquarters."

I am not Senator Smith's Administrative Assistant. I am not working for Ted Kennedy or at the Ted Kennedy headquarters. I can be found on any working day in my office in Washington.

Milton S. Gwirtzman
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to Senator Benjamin A. Smith

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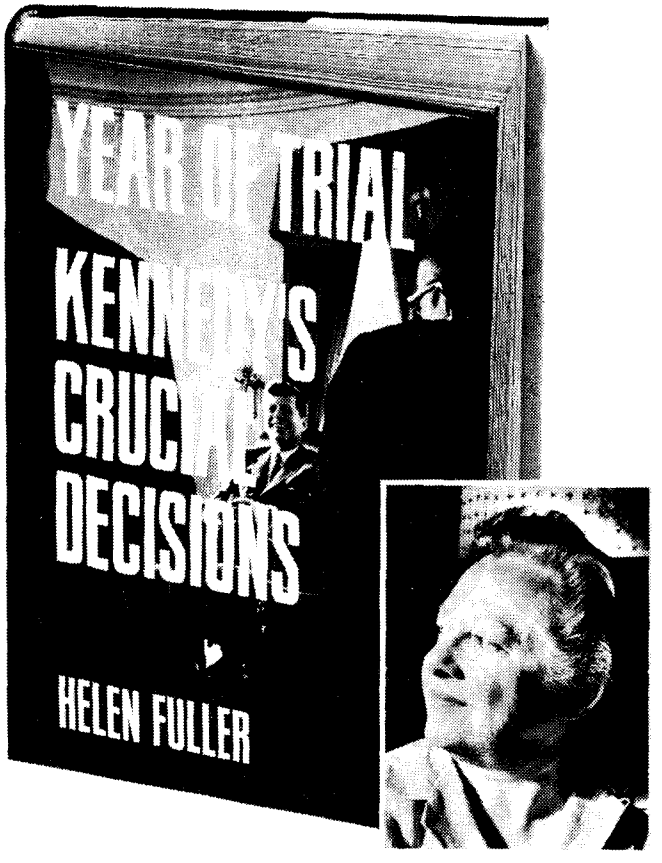

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